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OF PEACE

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The Stockholm Session

18—23 November 1954

The World Council of Peace met in Stockholm from 18th to 23rd November.

The session took place in the beautiful setting of the Swedish National Park at Skansen; three hundred and thirty three guests and members of the Council from 55 countries took part.

The following points were included on the agenda:

1 Cooperation of all the States of Europe in the organisation of their common security.

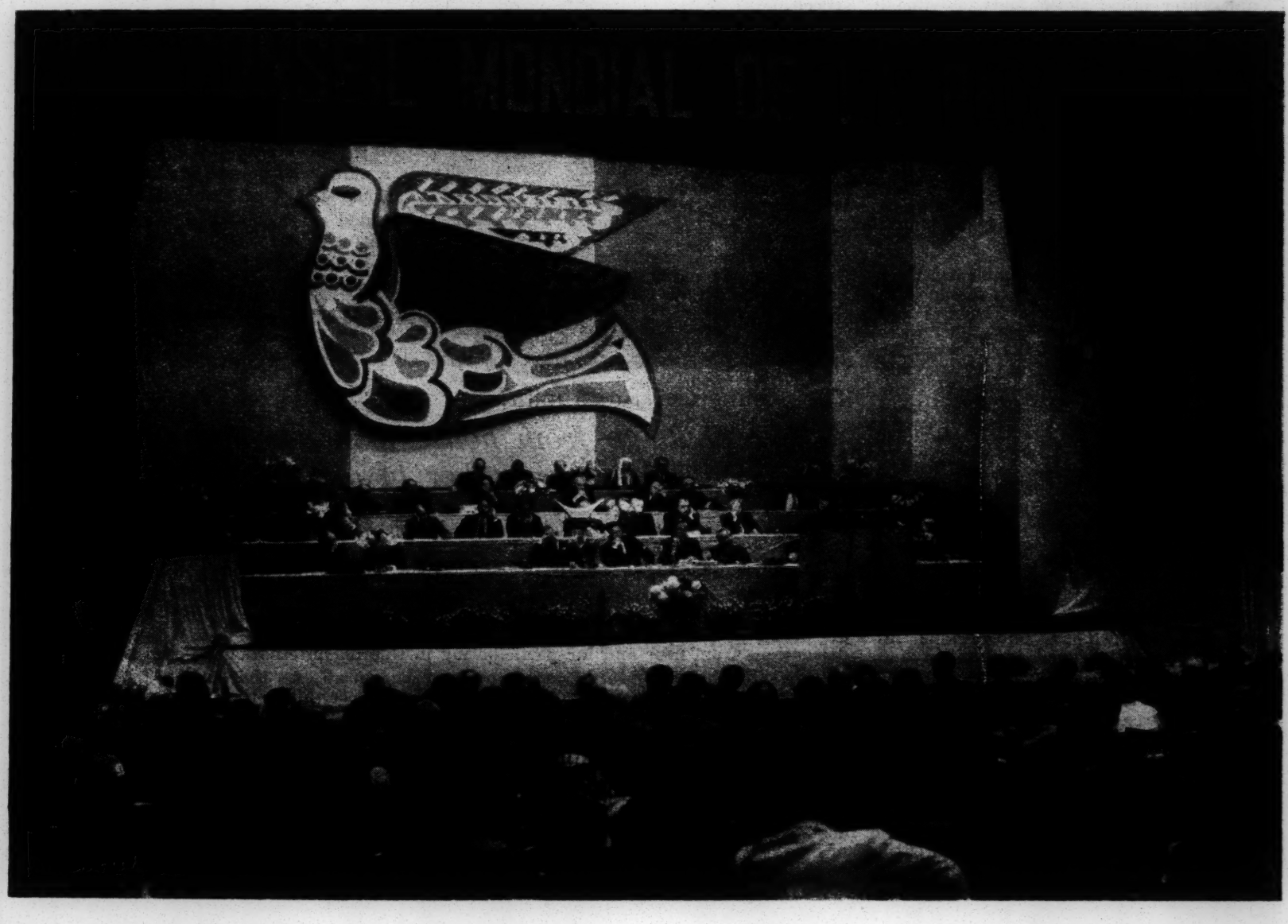
2 The situation created in different parts of Asia by foreign pressure and by the system of military blocs and coalitions.

3 The situation created in Latin America by interference in the internal affairs of nations.

4 Action of peace forces to secure disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

5. Preparation of an Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace in all countries during the first half of 1955.

This Bulletin contains the texts of all the documents adopted by the Council and extracts from many of the speeches made in full session.



Skansen

At Skansen, the most popular place in Stockholm

The Skansen National Park, where the World Council session was held, was founded by the historian Artur Hazelius who, in 1872, undertook to save the ethnographical remains and the relics of Sweden's past from destruction. This is what gives Skansen Park its character of an open-air museum presenting the different aspects of Swedish national life since the Middle Ages in a living and picturesque way.

Old country buildings, manors, mountain chalets, farms, Lapp camps, wind and water mills, sheep folds, sacrificial stones, belfries and gold and glass workshops are reverently preserved there and form a natural background for the old rural customs which are revived every year in the dark shadows of Skansen's fir trees: the songs of St. Lucy before Christmas, village dances round the maypole, Midsummer Day celebrations, etc.

The two million Swedish and foreign visitors who climb the slopes of Skansen hill every year see spread beneath them the magnificent panorama of Stockholm, the "old town" with its quays reflected in the waters of Lake Mälaren.

The name Skansen reflects this unique situation because it is a reminder of the fact that in days gone by there was a fort there. The ancient muzzle-loading cannon standing round the big esplanade are further evidence of this.

Skansen also has Sweden's only zoo. The fauna of the country is to be found there, breeding in captivity.

Concerts, theatrical shows, art exhibitions and displays of old dances are frequently held in the park. This makes it a cultural centre which is very much appreciated by all foreign visitors and very popular with the Swedish public in whose eyes it is a symbol of "the national culture and national independence", as Pastor Sven Hector said in his opening speech.

THE SWEDISH PRESS

The Swedish press carried reports on the work of the session of the World Council of Peace.

Articles on the session and interviews with persons taking part in it were published in a number of newspapers representing the various shades of Swedish opinion. They included *Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, Morgon-Tidningen, Ny Dag, Aftonbladet, Arbetar Tidningen, Vecko-Journalien, Norrskensflamman* and the official Swedish press agency *Tidningarnas Telegrambyra.*

Statement by Swedish Artists

A group of Swedish artists greeted the World Council of Peace on November 21st. The painter, Mr. Svenolov Ehrén, came to the rostrum to read the following statement, signed by 62 Swedish artists:

"Sweden's artists have often shown their solidarity by taking part in assistance to countries which had suffered from war and the catastrophes of war. In various ways they have shown their interest in work for peace and their detestation of war and militarism. There are, at the present time, very special reasons for recalling peace demonstrations against Nazism and militarism.

"The Berlin Conference, which led to peace in Korea and to the agreements on Indo-China concluded at Geneva, opened the way to negotiations for peace and the lessening of international tension. And this way is the only one which can lead to the reunification of a peaceful and democratic Germany in accordance with the Potsdam Agreements concluded by the victorious powers. The agreements on German rearmament recently signed in London and Paris can become an obstacle rendering the future uncertain.

"For this reason we artists welcome any move from any quarter which can help to bring about peace and the relaxation of international tension. World peace demands the taking of immediate measures against German rearmament and the creation of guarantees for European security. We share the hope of the majority of the Swedish people that our Government will do its part for world peace and the lessening of international tension by taking steps both in and outside the United Nations."

On November 19th, a deputation of Swedish participants in the Baltic Peace Cruise brought their greetings to the World Council of Peace.

The Women of Stockholm:

"We shall go from house to house and speak to every mother in our city"

The World Council session also received a deputation of Swedish mothers and their children.

The following is the text of the declaration they made to the Council on behalf of Swedish women:

"We members of the Stockholm Section of the Swedish Democratic Women's Society are proud and happy to welcome to our city, as dear friends, the eminent members of the delegations from near and far participating in this big international Peace meeting.

"The Stockholm Appeal has made our city known all over the world as a symbol of the fight against the atomic weapon, as a symbol of Peace. Since then the idea of Peace has won many great victories. But we are still not safe from the evils of war and new threatening clouds are appearing on the international horizon, especially as a result of the militarisation of Western Germany. This necessitates new and speedy efforts by all friends of peace.

"We wish you every success in the work of the Session to ensure a life of peace for all mankind, and we promise, as at the time of the Stockholm Appeal, to go from house to house and make the decisions of this meeting known to every woman and mother in our city. We promise to do everything possible to live up to the tradition implied in the name of Stockholm. We want negotiations between all countries on the question of war and peace which is so important for our children's future. We want life to conquer war."

Decisions of the Session

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLES

JUST AS THE ENDING OF THE WARS in Korea and Indo-China and the rejection of E.D.C. had given the world the hope of seeing the quarrels that divide the nations grow less, the London and Paris Agreements have suddenly confronted the peoples with the fearful danger for them all involved in the revival of the Wehrmacht.

Just as new proposals have been advanced that make possible the unification of Germany, the London and Paris Agreements are about to deal a heavy blow to the democratic and patriotic forces of the German people, to feed the ambitions of German militarism and set a seal on the division of Germany and Europe.

Just as the progress achieved at the United Nations on the vital question of disarmament and weapons of mass destruction has strengthened these hopes of Peace, the London and Paris Agreements are about to give the signal for an arms race which will rapidly become a crushing burden upon everyone.

The ratification of these Agreements, far from leaving intact the possibility of negotiation would create a situation fraught with new dangers to Peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The peoples are thus faced with a crucial alternative: either negotiation with every possibility of reaching a fair agreement, or an arbitrary act that risks nullifying the progress made toward reduction of world tension, namely, the rearmament of Western Germany and its inclusion in a military bloc.

The peoples must oppose the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements.

The peoples must demand the immediate opening of negotiations between the Four Powers with the object of reuniting Germany by free elections and concluding a State Treaty on Austria.

The peoples must demand immediate opening of negotiations including all European states, whatever their political system, with the object of ensuring their security and common prosperity through the cooperation of all.

It is not within the power of any government, of any Parliament, to settle the fate of a people against its will.

The people will not let the irreparable happen.

They will stop the rearmament of Germany and, by action all together, will open the road to European security and world Peace.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

APPEAL

FOR THE CALLING OF A WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE

In a world in which there are still great chances of Peace, new dangers appear which may destroy them all.

Only a powerful movement of the peoples can prevent the division of the world into opposing blocs, prevent the rebirth of the armies that have been the source of so much misery and mourning, and free mankind from the crushing cost of arms budgets. Only such a powerful movement can ensure the cooperation of all nations for their welfare, their independence and the security of all.

The World Council of Peace calls to all those whose activities make for Peace, to every man and woman who longs to live free from fear, mistrust, and hate for other peoples. It calls on them to get together before it is too late.

It resolves that a great World Assembly shall be held, including representatives of all the forces and tendencies that make for Peace, to meet in the second half of May 1955.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Resolution

on the Action of the Peace Forces in Favour of Disarmament and the Banning of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Four years ago the Appeal for the absolute banning of atomic arms was made in Stockholm.

The campaign for this Appeal by all peoples prevented the use of the bomb in Korea and Indo-China. The determined action of the peoples has also compelled the governments to stop the fighting in Korea and Indo-China.

Nevertheless, today we are once more faced by the danger of war resulting from intensification of the arms race and the continued development of still more destructive weapons of mass extermination.

Once more, the will of the peoples can and must avert the danger.

The World Council of Peace is gratified by the progress made at the United Nations Organisation in the discussion on disarmament and the banning of atomic weapons. It points out that this result has been achieved by negotiation, thus demonstrating that agreement is possible on the basis of compromise. It is precisely this method which has enabled the General Assembly to pass unanimously a resolution which clears the way to a solution of these problems. But the expressed desire of the Western Powers to rearm Western Germany and to include it in a military bloc, in the framework of the London and Paris Agreements, is undermining the efforts now being made to achieve disarmament and endangering the results so far achieved.

The World Council of Peace acclaims the conversations now in progress concerning the peaceful use of atomic energy. It declares, however, that mankind will not be able to make full peaceful, industrial use of nuclear energy until the use of such energy for military ends is banned. It is convinced that agreement in this field is entirely possible and that a satisfactory system of inspection and strict control is entirely capable of being established.

It calls on the Great Powers to redouble their efforts to secure speedy agreement on these vital questions on the basis of the proposals now being discussed. It demands that they meanwhile reach immediate agreement on the banning of all experimental explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs, a measure which the present state of scientific knowledge makes susceptible of easy and immediate control. It likewise demands urgently that all governments without exception immediately undertake never to use nuclear weapons whatever may be the pretext.

These measures would, nonetheless, be but an urgent interim step that must in no way hinder the attack on the cardinal problem: the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, atomic, bacteriological and chemical, and general disarmament. On the contrary, these measures are in themselves a great step towards a wider and more important agreement on the general reduction of armaments, the banning of weapons of mass destruction and the establishment of an international control system including the dispatch of inspection teams to all countries.

The World Council of Peace urges strongly that the credits now used for military purposes, but which would be made available by general controlled disarmament, should be devoted to raising the living standards of the peoples, in particular the economically under-developed countries.

It calls upon all the peoples of the world to demand, constantly and everywhere, the banning of weapons of mass destruction and general disarmament — without which a policy of Peace is impossible.

The will of the peoples can and will achieve these aims if the peoples unite in this sacred struggle, if all the nations press upon the governments and the United Nations, in one single effort, the expression of their tremendous longing for Peace, for mutual understanding and human solidarity.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Resolution

on the Situation Created in Various Parts of Asia by Foreign Pressure and by the System of Blocs and Military Coalitions

The Session of the World Council of Peace, examining the situation in Asia, expresses its deep satisfaction with the significant and welcome developments which have contributed to the ending of the wars in Korea and Indo-China, created the conditions for Peace in Asia and helped to lessen international tension.

The Geneva Conference was a victory for the forces of Peace. A cease-fire has taken place in Indo-China, and for the first time for many years no major war is in progress in this region.

The joint declaration of the Prime Ministers of India and China has given practical shape to the ideal of peaceful coexistence on the basis of the following five principles:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
2. Mutual non-aggression,
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
4. Equality and mutual benefit,
5. Peaceful coexistence.

These principles have been warmly welcomed by the peoples of Asia and the world, and have been accepted by the Governments of Burma, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Soviet Union and by Government leaders of Indonesia. The five principles have not only laid the foundations for collective Peace and security in Asia, but their acceptance would provide the basis for peaceful coexistence and friendly relations among all countries.

These events have strengthened Asian unity and solidarity, frustrating the efforts of those who hope to make "Asians fight Asians". However, the makers of war, desperate at the setbacks they have suffered, are striving to develop their plans to dominate Asia, by the construction of war alliances and pacts, by provocative military adventures, by growing interference in the internal affairs of the Asian nations, and by increased violence against the peoples.

In order to defeat these designs and to ensure Peace and security for Asia, the World Council of Peace appeals to the peoples of Asia and the world:

1) to widen and strengthen the area of Peace in Asia and establish collective Peace and security on the basis of the five principles;

2) to oppose and defeat S.E.A.T.O. and all plans for military blocs, such as the U.S.-Pakistan Pact, which set Asians against Asians, and constitute a threat to world Peace;

3) to demand an end to foreign domination and intervention in every part of Asia — including Malaya, West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) and Goa — the withdrawal from Asian soil of all foreign military forces and the abolition of all foreign military bases in Asia, and the immediate cessation of the dangerous atom bomb and hydrogen bomb tests which have already had deadly effects in the Pacific and have poisoned Asian air and waters with life-destroying elements;

4) to demand an end to foreign intervention in the Chinese territory of Taiwan (Formosa) and insist that the People's Republic of China take its legitimate place in the United Nations;

5) to demand the speedy resumption by the countries concerned, with the participation of neutral Asian states, of the Conference for the peaceful unification of Korea, in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people, and demand the strict observance of the armistice terms in Indo-China;

6) to oppose the remilitarisation of Japan, which threatens the Peace and security of Asia and the world.

Only thus can the peoples of Asia secure Peace, freedom and opportunities of progress for themselves, as well as play their part in ensuring Peace in the world.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

32.26.45

Resolution

on the situation created in Latin America by foreign interference in the internal life of the nations

In the guise of pacts and agreements supposedly intended to guarantee the collective security of the American Continent one state alone is continously increasing domination over the countries of Latin America and the interference of this state in their lives constitutes a factor of general insecurity.

The conditions which the countries of Latin America are now experiencing are an obstacle to international relaxation.

They are:

— the insecurity resulting from the policy of preparation for war which finds its expression in certain pacts and regional agreements impairing the sovereignty and the liberties of the states of Latin America, and in foreign intervention such as that which recently brought about the fall of the legitimate Government of Guatemala;

— the signing of bilateral military pacts and regional agreements which further the political decisions of the Conference of Caracas and which integrate the countries of Latin America in aggressive blocs, obliging them to devote a large part of their natural wealth to purely warlike ends and running the risk of dragging peaceful peoples into wars contrary to all their interests and their hopes;

— the costly and unjustified intensification of the arms race in the Latin American countries, to the great detriment of their national economy and the already precarious conditions of life of their people;

— the pressure exercised on the countries of Latin America which has shown itself many times by their votes in numerous international organisations, thus opposing an obstacle to the improvement of international relations and the solution by means of negotiation of the pending conflicts and problems;

— the restriction of the freedom of trade and distribution of raw materials of Latin America with the object of creating a forced market with unilateral fixing of prices and preventing the strengthening of the bonds of friendship with other countries on a basis of reciprocal advantage;

— the limitation of cultural exchanges with all the countries of the world and the pressure which is brought to bear on national cultures in order to impose alien forms on them.

Fighting to safeguard their sovereignty and to win real security for each and every one, the peoples of Latin America are contributing effectively to the struggle for Peace in America and the whole world.

The World Council of Peace considers that it is only by cooperation between the peoples of the American continent on the basis of equality and mutual respect that the peoples of Latin America can gain prosperity and security.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Appeal

for great cultural anniversaries

During 1955 throughout the world the peoples will join together in honouring great representatives of their common cultural heritage:

SCHILLER — 150th anniversary of his death.

MICKIEWICZ — 100th anniversary of his death.

MONTESQUIEU — 200th anniversary of his death.

ANDERSEN — 150th anniversary of his birth.

CERVANTES — 350th anniversary of his publication of *Don Quixote*.

WHITMAN — 100th anniversary of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*.

In this way the peoples will speak to one another across the frontiers, learn to understand one another better and strengthen and develop peaceful cooperation.

The World Council of Peace appeals to all peoples, to writers and artists, to scientists, historians and teachers, to all cultural and popular organisations to join in celebrating these great anniversaries.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Resolution

on the situation created in the dependent and semi-dependent countries by foreign pressure and by the system of blocs and military coalitions

The World Peace Movement has always, ever since its foundation, considered as a grave menace to Peace the violence used to maintain peoples in a state of dependence and colonial oppression.

It has always considered that foreign intervention in the internal affairs of semi-dependent peoples, the inclusion of their countries in aggressive pacts and the establishment of foreign strategic bases on their territories, aggravate international tension. The London and Paris Agreements do not only constitute a menace to the security of the peoples of Europe and world Peace, but their application would have direct and burdensome effects upon the lives of colonial and dependent peoples who are already suffering such a hard and at times tragic fate.

The World Council of Peace draws the attention of world opinion once more to the dangers for Peace resulting from the situations created in various dependent and semi-dependent countries.

In Malaya, in Kenya, in North Africa, there is a danger that armed conflicts may become open wars and may jeopardise world Peace.

Concerning the Indo-Chinese war, the World Peace Movement proclaimed the need and the possibility of ending such conflicts by peaceful means. We have been justified by the event.

In the Middle and Near East foreign meddling in different forms in the internal affairs of the peoples in order to force on them pacts and military blocs — the Turkish-Pakistan Pact, Near East Mutual Defence Pact, and others — constitutes a threat to Peace.

The World Council of Peace calls for the earliest possible settlement of these conflicts by peaceful means.

The World Council of Peace declares that relations between all states, great or small, should be founded on respect for the five principles enunciated in the mutual declarations of India, China and Burma — principles conforming with the United Nations Charter.

The World Council of Peace considers that the ending of the armed conflicts now in progress, respect for independence and the realisation of the national and democratic aspirations of all peoples are essential factors in the relief of international tension.

It calls on world opinion to demand the adoption and the application of these principles, which are indispensible to the safety of us all.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

OPENING SPEECH

Pastor Sven Hector — *Sweden*

I believe that I speak today for all true friends of peace in Sweden, when I bid you all a warm welcome to Sweden, in this capital made known to the whole world by one of the most noble actions of the world peace forces — the campaign for the Stockholm Appeal. We are truly delighted that this Conference should take place at Skansen, which, for every Swede, is a symbol of that national culture and national independence which all of us want to see develop in our own country against a background of world peace...

We are all aware that these are decisive times. Will we carry on to reach further milestones of victory on the road to a lessening of international tension? Or will new plots against peace force us to retreat?...

The day has now come when the peoples must put all their strength into the task of making known their proposals for the solution of the questions which still block the road to a lessening of international tension. Today we have much to defend, but we have still more to win in the future. In this spirit I once again bid you welcome to Stockholm. Let us make this new meeting in our capital the starting-point for new victories of the forces which speak for peace and understanding on behalf of the whole world.

Point One of the Agenda

COOPERATION OF ALL THE STATES OF EUROPE IN THE ORGANISATION OF THEIR COMMON SECURITY

Senator Ambrogio Donini — *Italy*

First Report on Point One of the Agenda

Allow me first of all to review the development of the international situation since the last meeting of the World Council of Peace, in Berlin from 24th to 28th May this year.

Above all, there have been the Geneva Conference and the signing of the agreement on Indo-China: a triumph of the spirit of negotiation over the policy of strength. The success of the Geneva Conference has shown to the world the part played by the peaceful peoples of Asia, and primarily by India and China, in spite of all the differences in their social and political systems, in building peace and easing international tension. But the participation of France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union in the work at Geneva, in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect, has shown at the same time the real possibilities of collaboration between the European Powers, and the concrete possibility of a new policy of agreement and unity in Europe.

This new prospect of peace and cooperation in Europe was increased by the French Parliament's rejection of E.D.C....

In all the countries of the world, in Latin America as in Africa, in Asia as in Europe, this success was interpreted as proof that it is possible to link the ordinary people mobilised by our Movement with other trends of public opinion: with trade union and religious organisations, with cultural circles and even with Parliamentary bodies, neglecting no alliance, however partial or temporary. It is an important lesson for us, a lesson which we must not lose sight of, at a time when we are meeting together to discuss the problems raised by the present international situation...

The changes which occurred in the international situation with the failure of E.D.C. also had repercussions among groups which had not yet worked with us and do not intend to, but which have realised that there is a definite possibility of contributing to the solution of world problems; even those who believed the promises of a sham European unity saw with increasing clarity the new paths opening for the establishment of security and cooperation in Europe. With the rejection of E.D.C. the road was opened for the creation of real European unity which is the basis for indivisible security and a guarantee of national independence, national sovereignty and peace in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The road was opened for the establishment of a united and democratic Germany; for the implementation of a policy of agreements and disarmament at the United Nations, against the dangers of atomic war and of thermo-nuclear destruction.

Others have sought a solution of these problems along different and perilous lines...

The agreements signed by certain countries in London and Paris have a very clear meaning — to make negotiations impossible; to perpetuate the policy of opposing blocs and of the division of Germany and Europe; to re-establish the German army on an aggressive basis and to impose once more on the peoples of the world the burden of a new armaments race and the danger of atomic extermination and the end of civilisation...

With the danger of the rearmament of Western Germany a whole series of dangers loom on the horizon:

1. A sudden halt on the road to an easing of international tension, where certain progress has been made since 1953.

2. The division of Germany, the prolongation of the allied occupation and the political servitude of Germany for an indefinite period. In this case the real heads of Western Germany would be the Nazi generals.

3. The impossibility of the peaceful unification of Germany and of the creation, in the heart of Europe, of a democratic and free country, which is the wish of the German people themselves in both West and East Germany.

4. An insurmountable obstacle to the creation of a system of general collective security in Europe, with the participation of all countries, great or small.

5. Finally, the perpetuation of the division of the world into opposing blocs, and the continuation of the armaments race with the terrible consequences that history has many times shown us ...

These protocols, these agreements, these conventions are now being submitted for ratification by the parliaments of the countries concerned. They talk of haste, but we must not confuse this haste with the real possibility of carrying out this plan ...

We believe we can say that the work accomplished by the Peace Movement in the last few years confirms the possibilities of a popular victory over this new danger. The possibilities are real, and the peoples' recent successes in the fight against E.D.C. demonstrate this ...

The only alternative to the real and immediate dangers inherent in the London and Paris Agreements is the speedy creation of a system of security in Europe which will make possible a peaceful settlement of the German problem and free elections in Germany by an agreement between the Four Powers, an agreement acceptable to the German people who want national unity and sovereignty in conditions of peace and democracy ...

Therefore, at this session of the World Council our movement must study every means of immediately translating into deeds the existing will to avoid the irreparable.

The problem of European security is our central task. The solution of this problem would, in fact, open the way to the settlement of all the present international disputes — from the problems raised by the peoples of Latin America and Africa, to the problems of safeguarding the newly regained peace in Asia, where the guns no longer roar; from the problem of the national, social and cultural demands of the colonial peoples to the problem of the indivisibility of security and peace ...

Certain press organs put forward the theory of parallel negotiations held by certain members of Western governments. Parallel negotiations, certainly, but parallel in the sense that they should meet and not at infinity as in geometry. Parallel negotiations, certainly, but dealing with the concrete reality of the preservation of peace; parallel negotiations between the Four Great Powers on the German problem; parallel negotiations between the countries of Europe to establish real security; parallel negotiations at U.N.O. for disarmament and the peaceful use of atomic energy, but not parallel negotiations aiming at German rearmament and disarmament, at war and peace, at unity and division, at one and the same time ...

Today, all the peoples of the world are interested in the immediate holding of negotiations, beginning with the central problem, which is the establishment of security in Europe.

The struggle will be hard and will not be won in one single battle. But all the forces of peace must rally now in order to win victories in this sphere and so ward off the terrible threat of a further conflagration ...

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear Friends, you see, therefore, that our Movement has now entered a new phase — doubtless, the most important in its existence. Our movement has gained prestige, but there are still forces, trends and even countries around us which can be won over to the struggle for the establishment of security in Europe, for the peaceful settlement of the German question and of all outstanding international disputes.

We must continue to discuss and even carry on a polemic with these forces. I believe that today we have the possibility of uniting them around this great common ideal, though we make no claim to a monopoly of the struggle for peace. At the same time, we should point out the results of the experience we have gained and the possibility of using this to pave the road towards unity and European security. It is along these lines, I believe, that we must direct our preparatory work for calling, during the early part of next year, a great Assembly of the forces of peace of all countries and of all trends, irrespective of social, economic or religious opinions. We must direct our work towards this Assembly, while realising that the essential problem of the fight for the security of Europe and the world is facing us now, that time is short and that this meeting must issue a clear message, which will resound among the peaceful peoples of the world.

Mr. Gilbert de Chambrun — *France*

DEPUTY IN THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Second Report on Point One of the Agenda

The basis of the London and Paris agreements is exactly the same as that of E.D.C. and they are both equally dangerous. In both cases it is a question of the unilateral rearmament of Western Germany ...

When the military danger implicit in these texts is pointed out to them, official circles put forward an unforeseen argument in their defence ...

The proper way to negotiate with the Soviet government would be to start off from a position of strength, they say. The ratification of the rearmament of Western Germany is necessary, they conclude, in order to negotiate better with the Soviet Union.

So at the present time the following alternative is put to us — negotiation beforehand or negotiation afterwards.

If negotiation takes place before any debate on the ratification of the London and Paris agreements, it is clear from all that I have said on the development of international politics that the time is very favourable for avoiding the revival of German militarism, for reuniting Germany by free elections, for signing the Austrian treaty and for bringing the negotiations on general, simultaneous and controlled disarmament to a decisive stage ...

On the other hand, when they talk of negotiating after ratification, the question arises whether the *fait accompli* of ratification would not jeopardise or retard negotiation ...

If twelve divisions are set up in Western Germany it is now clear that twelve divisions will answer them in Eastern Germany. What will be the consequences of such a state of affairs for the vital problems of the unification of Germany, European security and general disarmament?

The unification of Germany will become very difficult. After the setting up of these armed German forces has been agreed on, signed and ratified by both sides, we shall have set out on a road of no return. On the other hand, no country anxious for its security can then consent to the reunification of Germany if there is the slightest risk that at any given moment it might find these 24 German divisions joined against it ...

In conclusion, it is necessary to negotiate before taking the irreparable step.

Negotiate on what? A simple reminder of the views consistently held by the Peace Movement gives the answer.

Negotiation should deal in the first place with the peaceful solution of the German problem and secondly with the organisation of real security for all the countries of Europe which should, without exception, enjoy the same rights and accept the same responsibilities, thus precluding the division of Europe into two antagonistic blocs ...

The campaign has already started. At the moment, I can only speak for France, where hundreds of thousands of signatures have already been collected to a petition which ends: "Don't ratify! Negotiate!" ...

It depends on world public opinion whether the year 1955 will be the year of security and disarmament, the year of the entry of a unified Germany into the community of peaceful nations, the year of the relaxation of international tension and peace. It is essential that millions of people should feel their responsibility and show themselves equal to the task that faces them.

Mrs. Thea Arnold — *German Federal Republic*

Third Report on Point One of the Agenda

The most significant formula of the London and Paris agreements is the one which proclaims that the Bonn government is the only body which can legitimately speak for the whole of Germany. One does not have to do any subtle legal and political research to recognise that in this matter the Adenauer government has succeeded in making the Western Powers accept a point of view which in no way corresponds to the historical facts and which, for as long as it is accepted, makes the reunification of Germany impossible...

The Paris Treaties render impossible the peaceful reunification of Germany. They threaten the security of Europe, they increase international tension and lead to a renewed armaments race and to the brink of another war. This explains why the intention to ratify the new agreements is meeting a quite different welcome from the West German people, the Federal Parliament and even the Coalition Government than was the case with the Bonn Treaty and the E.D.C. Agreements. Awareness of the danger has grown and the sense of national responsibility is making itself more strongly felt than hitherto...

It is as if a flash of awareness and a wave of national feeling for peace were sweeping through the people of the Federal Republic.

This movement is not confined to the man in the street, although he and he alone is, of course, the deciding factor. Under the pressure of public opinion signs of crisis are appearing in the Bonn coalition government...

Today, the people of Western Germany realise that the world no longer wants lip service from them, but expects action. They realise that responsibility for the fate of Germany rests not with the occupying Powers but with themselves.

In this decisive phase in the struggle for world peace, West Germany, too, will, as the events of recent months have shown, raise its voice louder than hitherto and call for a new and different line of policy, the creation of a strong public opinion and acts indicative of a desire for agreement.

Mr. Wilhelm Elfes — *German Federal Republic*

(Message read by Mrs. Thea Arnold)

Whatever religious and political opinions each one of us may hold personally, we are none the less in perfect agreement in our great World Peace Movement that peace is a most precious possession, an indispensable prerequisite for the well-being and happiness of all mankind. So we must faithfully preserve our unity across all frontiers; we will not be discouraged by our present difficulties and we will put all our strength into the achievement of international friendship and World Peace.

Mr. Gordon Schaffer — *Great Britain*

In opposing German rearmament, the Peace Movement in my country, although still banned by some organisations, still boycotted by the press, radio and television, is the real voice of the British people. It is the voice of true patriotism against those who would trust the fate of our proud little island to the goodwill of Nazi generals and would condemn our sons and grandsons, yes, and our great-grandsons to occupy the European continent for the rest of this century.

The alternative to the Nazi generals is a united Germany. The alternative to a new Wehrmacht is collective peace in Europe. And peace in Europe would be the harbinger of peace throughout the world. And with peace would come the possibility of genuine disarmament and the release of the illimitable resources of science for the betterment of the peoples...

If we can reach the millions of little people.. we shall rally immeasurable and innumerable forces behind the banner for peace...

Our task must be to widen our horizons, to ensure by deeds as well as words that our Movement embraces every man and woman who wants peace and excludes only those who plan war. We must take new and decisive steps to break down the barriers dividing the peoples.

Mr. Jiichiro Matsumoto — *Japan*

MEMBER OF THE SENATE; FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DIET

In Asia, Japan, and in Europe, Western Germany are intended to serve as the spearhead of a new aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the people of China in the interests of the U.S.A.

Dear European friends, especially from Germany, France and Great Britain, we Japanese people suffered incalculable damage during and after World War II begun by the Axis, the military bloc at that time. Consequently, we have been fighting and will continue to fight resolutely against the incorporation of Japan in any military bloc or its participation in any aggressive war.

At the same time, we should also oppose the participation of France, Western Germany, Great Britain and any other European countries in the London and Paris Agreements. Europe must not be divided into two opposing groups. Every European country is an integral part of Europe. Coexistence and cooperation among nations is indispensable in Europe as well as in Asia. The European version of the "let Asians fight Asians" policy must never materialise.

At no time in the past have European problems been so closely connected with the interests of the people of the whole world.

Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg — *U. S. S. R.*

The possibility of peaceful coexistence is as simple as ABC. The peoples now want more...

We must insist, not only on the possibility of peaceful coexistence, but also on the indispensability of the cooperation of all states both to ensure the security of each, and to raise the material and cultural level of mankind.

Not only fear, but also hope, not only hate of war, but also love of peace, bid us examine the position in Europe today with special attentiveness.

How is it possible to ensure peace in Europe? The supporters of the policy of strength say that it can be done by reinforcing one military bloc, by increasing armaments and, in particular, by the rearmament of Western Germany. It is unlikely, however, that the final division of Europe into two mutually hostile blocs will further cooperation of the Eastern states with the Western, or even their peaceful coexistence...

The history of the last 80 years has demonstrated that, despite pretty adequate records of belligerency scored by the governments of certain other European states, the champions' laurels for launching war belong to the German militarists and the bosses of German industry. Surely it cannot be possible that now, when not yet ten years have passed since the end of the late atrocious war, there is only one way of preserving peace — the revival of the Wehrmacht and the arsenals of the Ruhr?...

The revival of German militarism threatens every people in Europe, the Germans among their number. That is why many political figures remote from any sympathy with the German Democratic Republic are protesting against the London agreement: Mr. Bevan and the Christian Democrat Sig. Melloni, Herr Ollenhauer and the Belgian Senator M. Rollin. As for France, her feelings were well described by the Paris correspondent of the *New York Times:* "No bridegroom obliged to undergo a shot-gun wedding ever showed such reluctance as France showed this week in agreeing to the entry of Germany into the Western Military Alliance."

The supporters of the policy of strength have led the states of Western Europe into an impasse of contradictions...

I am, of course, convinced that France will contrive to emerge from the impasse, and that her will to peace will show her a course worthy of her. Recalling the phrase of the *New York Times* correspondent about the shot-gun and the bridegroom, I think that maybe some match-makers have been a bit precipitate with the wedding programme. Much yet depends on the French people. This summer, in an American newspaper, France was called "the land of big disappointments". For the supporters of peace, in whatsoever corner of the world, France was, is and will be a land of great hopes and great possibilities.

People who, sincerely or reluctantly, defend the London agreement say that there is no other way out for Western Europe, that the Soviet Union does not want a united Germany and refuses all proposals for free elections. The defenders of peace must, in every country, on every street corner, in every home,

Mr. Jiichiro Matsumoto on the rostrum

denounce this new lie of the enemies of peace. The Soviet Union has proclaimed that it seeks the unification of Germany; it proposes conversations with the three Western Powers and is agreeable to examine the Western proposals for free elections in Germany. Why then is its offer to this day not accepted? Why, instead of negotiations with their allies in the war against German militarism, do some French Radicals and some Bitish Labourites prefer to rearm S.S. men, revive the Wehrmacht and repeat the tragicomedy that led to the second World War?...

Neither military blocs nor an armed Germany can safeguard the future for the cornfields and the children of Europe. It is necessary to find another path — a new path, the path of peace. The Soviet Government proposes the calling of a conference of all European States, with the participation of representatives from the United States, to examine how joint measures can be taken to ensure the security of Europe. Any participant in this conference may propose his plan. From such a joint examination must emerge some concrete agreement acceptable to all.

To wait longer is impossible. The time has come to call on all European states to cooperate, regardless of the principles that guide their internal policy. The representatives of all European States can and must agree on the organisation of collective security.

The United States of America should likewise be included in this union, because twice it has happened that she has been dragged into a war begun in Europe, and because the American people have close economic ties with many of the peoples of Western Europe...

Our session is meeting in days that may decide the future of Europe and the whole of humanity. The peoples may yet avert the supreme misfortune. The peoples may yet avert the splitting of Europe and a new arms race. The peoples must not allow the spectre of war to be ensconced anew in the very heart of Europe...

Every day is precious. Friends, remember what we pledged in the past, here in this lovely city. From here went out our Appeal, that maybe saved the world from the horror of the atomic bomb. At that time we were much weaker than we are now: now the stream has turned into a broad river. With us, now, is the public opinion of the entire world. But we must rouse in our hearts the fire of old. We must find the passion of the days of the Stockholm Appeal. Do not let the irreparable come to pass. Protect the road to peace!

Professor H. L. Hromadka — *Czechoslovakia*

DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY, PRAGUE UNIVERSITY

A collective security conference would give all European nations a feeling of relief and establish a basis of real trust and cooperation, whereas the London and Paris Agreements would seal the division of Germany, of Europe, and above all they would seal the division of the whole world. We have to face all the consequences of their eventual implementation. What are we going to do? The agreements would force our nation and our neighbours to take all indispensable measures for our security.

May I, once more, point to the sinister experiences of our people under the Nazi regime? How often we were assured by the western nations that, in the end, our country would be protected against the dangers of Nazi militarist threats and that we should not be unduly alarmed! And what was the real end of our security in those dark days of 1938—39? We are encouraged by the earnest proposal of the Soviet Government and have a feeling of satisfaction about the fact that the Government of my country and the Government of Poland have decided to be co-organisers of a Collective Security Conference.

Mr. Gabriel d'Arboussier — *French West Africa*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

If genuine collective security were organised between all the peoples of Europe the face of Africa would at once be changed.

Do not misunderstand me, I am not saying that the particular problems of the African people would be resolved as though by magic, but that their solution would be made easier. And anyway, I am absolutely convinced that European insecurity and the plans leading to war make the fulfilment of their national and democratic aspirations more and more difficult.

As Mr. Donini truly said this morning, the clauses of the London and Paris Agreements providing for the installation of atomic plants in Africa are a direct threat not only to the peoples of Europe and Africa, but to all the peoples of the world.

Africa wishes to be neither an apple of discord for Europe, nor a refuge in the war plans which are increasing the poverty and oppression to which our peoples are subject.

And there, in my opinion, is the real basis for solidarity between the peoples of Europe and Africa in the struggle for peace.

Prof. Jean Dembowski — *Poland*

SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT; PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The enemies of peace, the enemies of peaceful cooperation, are trying to give the impression that the problem of West German rearmament is already finally settled and that one must resign oneself to it. That is not true. We must not give way to this fatalistic enemy propaganda, whose aim is to disarm the peoples' will to peace. It is on our efforts to make known the real character of the London and Paris Agreements, to show what they entail, it is on our work and our struggle that the failure of their calculations depends...

There is still time to halt the course of events which, beginning with the rearmament of Germany, would lead to an aggravation of international tension and create a dangerous centre for warlike adventures and provocations in the heart of Europe...

It is not by creating closed military groupings but by uniting the efforts of all the European states that peace can be assured on this continent. An agreement of this sort would offer real guarantees of security to France, Poland, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and to all the states of Europe, great and small. An agreement of this nature would bring about a real and lasting relaxation of the tension in international relations and would put a stop to the armaments race which weighs so heavily on the backs of the population and in some countries prevents the satisfaction of their needs...

It goes without saying that Germany's neighbours, who have already twice in one generation fallen victims to aggression by German militarism, cannot allow it to be rebuilt once more; they cannot remain passive before the development of this threat to their national existence. The peaceful peoples of Europe who are menaced by the reconstitution of the neo-hitlerite Wehrmacht are vigilant and will unite their efforts to safeguard their security and independence.

Professor Heinz Kamnitzer — *German Democratic Republic*

The Paris Agreements propose to rearm the very part of Germany which twice in the twentieth century has provided the biggest arsenal and the most dangerous armoury of two world wars. They give the merchants of death of the Rhine and the Ruhr the instruments of military power so that they may pursue for the third time a policy of strength.

In this respect the Paris Agreement offers even better initial conditions than did the Versailles Treaty. The Reichswehr was then a strong regular army of 100,000 men but was not allowed to have aircraft or tanks. It took them some time to transform themselves into the Wehrmacht of the Second World War.

The new Wehrmacht is not only to be five times as big but, by means of conscription, will train several million soldiers for active service in a short time. It possesses an air force, armoured units and all the modern means of mass destruction. What justification is there for the assumption that the Federal Army of 500,000 men can be more easily controlled than the Reichswehr of 100,000?...

If the agreements are ratified they will bring into being a military State which will sweep away the illusory controls and petty restrictions, the moment it is fully rearmed...

We owe it to the world, to our people and to our neighbours to issue a public warning. If weapons are again placed in the hands of the groups and the men who blame Hitler for losing the last war, then the same beginning will pave the way for the same terrible consequences...

It will be just as difficult in the future as it was in the past to know which way the guns will be pointed...

Germany must cease to a bone of contention. Neither part of it must be made into or used as a political bulwark or military outpost. No doubt even then international disagreements and power blocs would still exist. But by the neutralisation of the whole of Germany, the very country in the heart of Europe where the acute tension between the great powers threatens to break out into a conflagration would then be excluded from the calculations of power politics...

Neutralisation of Germany, as we envisage it, would in no way mean that it would be powerless. On the contrary. It would ensure the harmonious development of economic, political, and cultural relationships with all neighbouring countries and the whole world. Neutralisation would, on the one hand, preclude the possibility that Germany, or any part of Germany, would undertake military commitments in any direction. But, on the other hand, Germany would, whether divided or united, take its place on an equal footing in the system of European security and would honour this equality of status by maintaining uniform relations with all the other treaty partners.

On the grounds of self-preservation, Germany has every reason to: —

1. keep out of any unilateral military or political committment such as are embodied in the Paris Agreement.

2. seek to associate herself with an all-embracing alliance such as the system of collective security for all Europe.

This possibility can now result in a settlement in the interests of the German people and all the peoples of the continent.

The Soviet Union's new proposal has found an extraordinary response both in East and West Germany because the people on both sides see in such a conference a great possibility of obviating threatening dangers by way of negotiation.

Once again Germany stands at the parting of the ways. Not only have we a vital interest in seeing that the fatal London and Paris decisions are not ratified and that the door is left open for European understanding, but also as Germans we accept the major responsibility for this...

Mrs. Isabelle Blume — *Belgium*

SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The people are saying that to give arms once again to Germany at a time when she has not yet regained her unity, nor accepted her present frontiers, means both undermining the basis of German democracy and endangering peace...

The average Belgian smiles when he hears talk about the limitation of German strength and armaments which have been fixed at a high level in any case. Already there are agreements which provide that this level can be changed if N.A.T.O. demands it and that it would only need a simple majority vote of the Western European Union to do so.

The peace-loving people of Belgium quite naturally think that the doctrine of peace through strength must be replaced by the policy of collective security and disarmament...

Our struggle for European Security must therefore be waged on three fronts: —

a) The fight against ratification: Our ministers, having learned to their cost that it was bad policy to be in too great a hurry to ratify agreements before their French and German neighbours, will not this time start the procedure of ratification before France and Germany. So we still have some time left.

b) We must enlighten the people so that they realise that it is not possible to rearm Germany and negotiate a system of European security at one and the same time. Like many others, our rulers have made the people believe that with Western Europe organised and strong, it would be easier to deal with the Soviet Union and to obtain greater concessions from her. But it is becoming more and more difficult to make them believe such stupid nonsense. This year they have been impressed by the character of the genuine negotiations on Korea and Indo-China and they are beginning to understand that it is impossible to negotiate between a gun and an atom bomb...

c) Towards Collective Security: More and more the people remember that the concept of collective security was one of their greatest hopes between the wars and that it was because our Governments rejected all proposals for collective security presented to the League of Nations that the Second World War broke out. Understanding that for them there is only one alternative, collective security and disarmament or a war of total destruction, the peoples of the small countries say to themselves with good reason: we know the results of war, so why shouldn't we try seriously for once to live under the banner of collective security?...

Our Movement intends to carry through successfully its great campaign against German rearmament and for collective security, to ensure that negotiation precedes the ratification of the treaties. It has learnt from experience that it is often necessary for the peoples to show their governments the way, and that is why many public figures and groupings are replying favourably to the invitation to the European Conference which will be held in Paris at the beginning of December.

Indeed, it is necessary that in intelligent and fraternal unity, all the peoples of Europe should show their determination to organise their security and to develop their relations in every sphere...

Mr. Tsai Ting-kai — *China*

MEMBER OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF CHINA

The present struggle of the European peoples against the revival of German militarism and for the establishment of Europe's collective security and peace is a movement of the utmost importance for the defence of world peace. We Chinese people, as well as the other peoples of Asia, are extremely concerned with this struggle. We all live in the same world, and the peace and security which we all need is so closely knit together that it is indivisible...

Nobody can conceal the fact that the rearming of West Germany and the revival of German militarism, under whatever form, will contain unbounded dangers. For this will perpetuate the division of Germany and make impossible the democratic unification of the country so eagerly desired by the German people. Furthermore, it will divide Europe into opposing military blocs and let a revanchist West Germany play the main role in an aggressive bloc. It will create tension, thereby aggravating the danger of war. It will bring to the peoples of Europe infinite horror and calamity. So this will not only seriously menace the peace and security of Europe but will also seriously menace the peace and security of Asia and the whole world...

The Metropolitan Nikolai — *U. S. S. R.*

We are again met together to examine the obstacles blocking the road to peace, to concentrate our constructive efforts on the most dangerous point of the world contradictions.

It is clear to all that at the present time this point is the continued division of Germany which is leading to the revival of militarism in the heart of Europe. There is an equally clear understanding, especially after the Soviet Government note of 13th November, of the deep meaning of the problem of European security, the solution of which would also enable the German problem to be settled. Likewise, there can be no doubt as to the way in which this double task can be accomplished provided it is clearly understood by all the Governments and peoples of Europe. Indeed, after the Berlin and Geneva conferences, it would seem that no one should entertain any doubt that contacts with a view to the peaceful discussion of the questions in dispute — in other words negotiations — can reduce international tension and even produce results as important as the ending of bloodshed in Indo-China...

Who would dare to affirm that a family can live without the mutual trust of its members?

The peaceful life of Mankind is likewise impossible without this trust, the more so since each new victory of science over time and space makes mankind more of a great united family. That is why from the Christian point of view, according to which each man is in the image of God, trust between the peoples and their governments must be the first condition for peaceful co-existence...

The Christian churches can and must press their governments to strengthen this spirit of mutual trust...

We know that pagan Rome knew no other law than that of force, but Christian love has shown itself stronger and more substantial than death. This same love, this same power of the Christian faith, this Christian unity for the defence of Peace, must now become one of the sources of this trust between men and between peoples without which victory over the imperialist policy of force and hatred is impossible...

But have the Christian Churches of the West done everything possible to establish complete unity with other Churches in the interests of peace? Could we not long since have started discussing this question on a world-wide Christian basis?....

My country has recently shown the peoples of Europe that they can reap the advantages of security with confidence and cooperation which, answering the vital interests of the European countries, could have a decisive importance in consolidating peace in general. A big step could be made along this road, thanks to Christian trust, if all the Christian Churches of the West, together with the Orthodox Churches, in common with all peace-loving people, were to intervene in the interests of this cause upon whose success depends the well-being of Europe and of mankind the world over.

To all religious organisations, to all religions in the world, I make this fervent appeal: "In the name of Him in whom we believe, in the name of a happy life for our children, and our young people, in the name of the happiness of all mankind, let us spare no effort, let us work to unite in a massive endeavour in defence of peace on earth...

Mr. Yaari — *Israel*
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

Over 400,000 citizens of our country, 42 per cent of the adult population of the state, have, during the last few months, signed the demands of the People's Referendum, organised by the Israel Peace Movement. The first demand expresses opposition to the rearming of Germany in any form whatsoever. The results of this referendum prove that the masses of the people have not forgotten what crimes were committed against us and what are likely to be committed against us and the whole of mankind by the neo-Nazi militarism now being resurrected . . .

Mr. John Burns — *Great Britain*

52.26.48

It is true that the present British Government has agreed that German rearmament should be put into effect, and as soon as possible.

It is true that support for such a policy was carried at Scarborough. But the present Government will go.

And the policy of the Labour Party which will be the next Government in Britain can and will be changed . . .

So therefore I say to this Conference: let us not approach the future with any feeling of pessimism or what is worse in a spirit of defeatism, but let us support all efforts to bring about a meeting of all the European nations, or the Four Great Powers, before the wish of certain right wing elements is transformed into the deed. Let us do this, for we will gather friends and allies on the way and, as true as I stand here, the day will come when the common man will triumph over the forces of reaction . . .

Mr. Alain Le Leap — *France*
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS OF FRANCE (C.G.T.)

Our people will not be satisfied with the rejection of the London and Paris Agreements, after having forced the rejection of E.D.C. They intend that France shall play her part in the construction of European Collective Security. This idea of collective security, supported, for example, by such men as Mr. Herriot and Mr. Paul Boncour, has spread throughout the most varied sections of the French nation...

Because we feel that the position of France can be the determining factor, as it was in the fight against E.D.C., it is our duty to tell you with the utmost gravity that we consider the situation to be serious. Serious because our Parliament does not reflect the wishes of our people. Serious because in the Chamber of Deputies those formerly hostile to E.D.C. are not yet taking a clear stand against the London and Paris Agreements, for a variety of reasons. But have no fear, we are without the slightest trace of discouragement, resignation or surrender. Our pressure will be forcefully exerted, there will be the maximum number of deputations, lobbying members of Parliament and making them listen to the voice of the nation . . .

Your friendship imposes on us the duty of telling you that the hour is grave, very grave; we must realise that. It is a question of the future and even of the lives of our peoples. By our common efforts we can still win a new success, a decisive success. It is upon us Frenchmen, but also upon all of you, especially those of you who represent the peoples of Western Europe, that the future of Peace and of the world depends.

Mrs. M. Minnaert-Coelingh — *Netherlands*

The feeling of uneasiness about the London and Paris agreements is widespread and much greater than it was over E.D.C. . . .

Always the danger of an independent German army was pointed out in order to stress that a supra-national organisation was needed to avert it. Now the idea of a supra-national organisation has been thrown overboard and an almost independent German army with its own General Staff is proposed, as though nothing had happened in the interim. This has suddenly made the situation much clearer and warrants us speaking of a feeling of general anxiety.

Prof. H. Brandweiner — *Austria*

The Charter of the United Nations provides for regional agreements which can fulfil similar functions for certain parts of the world in so far as and so long as the Security Council does not intervene . . .

Such regional agreements, however, must not, under any circumstances, be directed against one or several of the Great Powers. This is so because the Charter of the United Nations has given them collectively the main responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and international security. This fundamental principle of the unanimity of the great powers is made abundantly clear in Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter.

Regional agreements which are directed against one or more of the Five Great Powers are, therefore, a violation of the Charter and are, like all other international agreements which contradict it, subject to the sanction that commitments arising out of the statute have priority. Every state which fails to honour these obligations, and in the execution of such regional agreements resorts to war, must expect to be treated as an aggressor.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would ask you to give special attention to this point. So far, in the theory of International Law, no attempt has been made to define a criterion which would enable us to look upon agreements such as the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, which founded the Organisation of American States, or the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship as being regional agreements of the type provided for in the United Nations Charter, and which, on the other hand, will enable us to determine why military pacts such as N.A.T.O., the Manila Pact, the Anzus Pact or E.D.C., which met its end in Paris, are not regional treaties in the sense of the Charter.

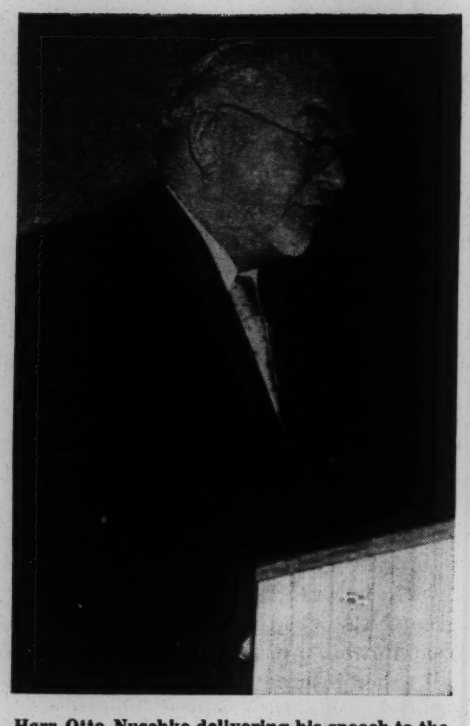
The criterion rests on the fact that the latter treaties are directed against one or several of the Great Powers — against China and the Soviet Union. In this way they contradict the United Nations Charter because it links the building of a system of collective security with the principle of the unanimity of the Great Powers. This became abundantly clear when the Soviet Union offered to enter N.A.T.O. The refusal of the N.A.T.O. Powers to accept the Soviet Union in this treaty system clearly showed — what was never in doubt from the start — that in fact N.A.T.O. is directed against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's entry into N.A.T.O. would have transformed this treaty into a valid regional agreement . . .

In the light of these points of international law, we can say that the all-European collective security treaty proposed by the Soviet Union possesses all the requirements of a regional agreement in the sense of the United Nations Charter. In principle it is not directed against any country; it provides for the participation of the United States of America; it embraces countries of different social systems and forms of Government; it respects the national sovereignty of all the participating states. At the same time it makes impossible the use of the remaining national armies for purposes of aggression.

The parties to this agreement pledge not to attack each other and to refrain from any threat or use of force in their relations with each other . . .

Prof. Göran Von Bonsdorff — *Finland*

From the point of view of principle the security problem is not a question of power but a common interest for all the countries concerned. This question is of special importance for Finland bearing in mind the position of the country between East and West, and the more one considers the special position of Finland the more one sees how important it is for its people to contribute as much as possible to a relaxation of the tension in Europe. It should be



Herr Otto Nuschke delivering his speech to the World Council of Peace

observed that Finland as well as other small countries has a full right to work out and present its own proposals. And I do not hesitate to say that such proposals should be presented. That is that measures for the relaxation of international tension should not be regarded as the privilege of the Great Powers, in whose hands the final decision lies. They should rather be regarded as a common interest of the Great Powers as well as the small states, both those which are members of blocs and independent countries. Only in this way can we hope to obtain acceptable and reliable results from the standpoint of preserving peace.

Pastor Uffe Hansen — *Denmark*

It is illogical to open peace negotiations with Germany by providing her once again with the means of waging war; one can hardly make the Germans believe this any longer.

Doctor Sliman ben Sliman — *Tunisia*

These (*London and Paris, Ed.*) agreements, which have a barely concealed similarity to the plan for a European defence army, that was defeated by the struggle of the peoples and of the World Peace Movement, constitute a danger to the people. For they mortgage the future not only of Europe, but also of the peoples of North Africa, especially Tunisia.

So the question of European security has a direct interest for our country . . .

Mr. Piero Jahier — *Italy*

On the subject of this substitute for the European Defence Community, that is, the Agreements in the course of ratification which we have been discussing, it seems natural to me to ask our German brothers: "Isn't progressive disarmament one of the most urgent aims of the United Nations? Therefore, does not the disarmed Germany of the present time occupy an advance post on the road which all the European nations will have to follow?"

It will be for this disarmed but reunited Germany to decide its rearmament needs for itself in an atmosphere of collective security. Is it not humiliating for a great nation which has given Beethoven and Kant to the world to see its capacity for organisation and its military tradition looked upon as so much merchandise to be bought or sold? Are we going towards rearmament or disarmament?

Mr. Otto Nuschke — *German Democratic Republic*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The first and foremost task of all European peoples must be to eliminate the blocs and the aggressive military pacts which are disguised as security pacts. This saving idea came out in the proposals made by Mr. Molotov at the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe . . .

Naturally, the new system of collective security in Europe would have to avoid the mistakes of the past. Under no circumstances should the participation of one of the largest European states — the U.S.S.R. — be renounced. On the contrary, the Soviet Union should be a guarantor of peace and security in Europe.

We in the German Democratic Republic also welcome the Soviet suggestion to bring America into the negotiations on collective security in Europe. Here the U.S.A. could make a contribution worthy of her great traditions. If, in this way, the collective security of Europe were also guaranted by the U.S.A., then France's desire to have her security guaranteed both by Washington and Moscow could be fulfilled. Finally, the participation of the great Chinese nation in such a conference would make it clear to the world that peace is global, that world peace is indivisible; that we must aim to ensure it collectively in every corner of the earth...

The hope for a change in the relationship of forces through the setting up of West German divisions is built on sand. First ratification, then negotiations, this is the argument of blackmailers. The chain reaction of the prophets of Western German power then goes on: first rearmament, then negotiations! first war, then negotiations! first capitulation then — perhaps — negotiations! These were Hitler's arguments. Let his imitators and followers remember this: *Vestigia terrent*, tracks frighten.

Those who really want genuine and honest negotiations must come to them unreservedly and without preconditions. Only in this way can peace be preserved.

In this connection allow me to say a few words on the elections. On this question the government of the German Democratic Republic has the following attitude: in preparing for the re-establishment of a united and democratic German republic the principles of the Weimar Constitution must of course be taken into consideration. Why should we not make use of the positive experiences of the Weimar Republic or even of the experiences we gathered in building up the state both in East and West Germany in the post-war years? This is particularly indispensable for the holding of free all-German elections. The government of the German Democratic Republic lays down no conditions for negotiations with the Federal Republic on the preparation and holding of free, all-German, democratic elections. We are also, of course, of the opinion that acceptance of the electoral system used either in the Federal Republic or the Democratic Republic should not be made a condition of the negotiations. The only thing that matters is to negotiate and to reach agreement . . .

The German question can be solved in a peaceful manner and peace in Europe can be secured if we observe the following principles:

1) In Germany the policy of understanding must be continually carried forward. This policy of understanding is after all the most sensible one.

2) The rearmament of Western Germany must be prevented whatever happens, because without German infantry there can be no third world war.

3) The settlement of the German problem cannot be achieved through a partial solution or perhaps even a violent solution. But such a settlement is possible through the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis and through the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe.

4) Just as it is impossible to attain a partial solution of the German problem, so it is also impossible to try and solve this complex question by a policy of preconditions. It can only be solved on the basis of honest negotiations.

5) Today the greatest responsibility for the consolidation of peace in Europe rests with the German people.

It is by recalling their great and noble humanist and national traditions that the German people will be able to live up to this responsibility.

Point two of the Agenda

THE SITUATION CREATED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF ASIA BY FOREIGN PRESSURE AND BY THE SYSTEM OF MILITARY BLOCS AND COALITIONS

Mr. Romesh Chandra — *India*

Report presented on behalf of the Indian delegation

In the months that have followed the Geneva Conference, the bonds of Asian solidarity have grown with a rapidity that must have startled those who thrive on Asian disunity. Friendship between India and China has grown since the June meeting between Prime Ministers Nehru and Chou En-lai as the vital factor in building the new Asian Solidarity.

Trade agreements have been signed, opening the door to a commerce, which can help the progress of both countries. Cultural delegations have crossed and continue to cross into each other's lands...

Prime Minister Nehru has again and again stated that his dominant impression of China — an impression which all the malicious propaganda of the imperialist powers will not be able to obliterate — is that the Chinese people and their Government desire peace above everything else, that they are busy reconstructing their country, that they have built a new life for themselves, and that they earnestly seek friendly relations with their brother Asian peoples and with the peoples of the whole world...

The Five Principles do precisely mean the removal of the fear of war and aggression.

1. The first principle guarantees the freedom of all countries. Unless all countries are free there can never be any lasting peace. Unless each country is guaranteed against threats to its territorial integrity and sovereignty there will always be fear and consequent preparations for war, military alliances and building up of armaments.

2. The second principle provides for a guarantee against aggression. Only such a guarantee can create that climate of peace which will make war impossible.

3. The third principle ensures that each country will be free to develop in its own way, to adopt whatever system the people may desire without foreigners interfering, directly or indirectly, in their affairs.

4. The fourth principle ensures the development of normal economic and cultural relations between nations without discriminations and restrictions, relations based on equality and mutual benefit, instead of the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries by the imperialist powers.

5. The fifth principle of peaceful coexistence is, of course, the key and most important principle of all. It recognises the right of different countries to have different systems. It firmly opposes the theory that different social systems cannot exist side by side and must inevitably come into armed conflict...

The concept of an Area of Peace in Asia has blossomed and has by now become the glorious vision of a continent of peace as part of a world of peace. May we say that we Indians yearn for the day when instead of poverty and hunger in the minds of men, the word "Asia" will become a synonym for peace. To make Asia a Continent of Peace, to make the world a world of peace — that is the goal of our endeavours...

The makers of war are now madly rushing forward to complete their plans for the domination of Asia.

The South East Asia Treaty Organisation has come into being. Its meaning is clear enough and it has been rightly condemned by the Government of India and by all sections of the Indian people...

All these sinister efforts cannot be fought back if the peoples of Asia remain complacent, if they feel that with the growth of India-China friendship and solidarity, with the increasing acceptance of the Five Principles, with the ending of wars in Korea and Indo-China they can now sit back and let events march forward by themselves.

We in India know well that it is not enough for the people to watch while the governments act alone...

That is why we of the Indian Peace Movement, together with the rest of the people of our country, know well that it is necessary for the peoples of Asia to struggle, to raise their voices for peace.

During the last three months, the campaign for Asian Solidarity has swept through our country...

The mass organisations of workers, peasants, youth and women are taking an increasingly active part in the Peace Movement.

At present, the Peace Movement is intensifying the campaign for Asian Solidarity, which has been given a new fillip both by the dangers arising after the signing of the S.E.A.T.O. arrangement and by the new perspectives of Asian Solidarity which have arisen after Pandit Nehru's visit to China.

The All India Peace Council has called an All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity (the fourth Congress of the Peace Movement) at Madras from December 30, 1954 to January 2, 1955. For this Congress delegates are being elected on a mass scale from all types of organisations which support the peace Movement and the Five Peace Principles...

An announcement has recently been made regarding the formation of an Indian Preparatory Committee to convene a Conference of Asian Countries to assist in the promotion of peace in Asia and in the whole world. This preparatory Committee is headed by leading personalities, Members of Parliament and others, of the Congress, the Praja Socialist and Communist Parties.

The Conference is to be held in Delhi early in 1955 and is bound to be a great contribution to the development of the struggle for peace and towards the unification of the forces of peace in India and in other Asian countries. The people of Asia look forward now to the great world Congress of the Forces of Peace in all countries to be called next year: this Congress will help to forge new links between the peoples of the world and to plan new and greater efforts to outlaw war...

The aims of our movements for Asian Solidarity must be focussed clearly before the whole world.

First, we seek to build a Continent of Peace — a powerful Area of Peace — of countries bound together by a series of bilateral and multilateral agreements based on the historic Five Principles. Among ourselves and with countries of the whole world our relations shall be built on the basis of these Five Principles. We seek peace for our continent and peace for the world. We work together with each other and together with the rest of the peoples of the world.

Secondly, we demand an end to all military pacts which seek to divide and dominate us. Let the rallying cry of the Asian people be heard all over the world: "Down with the U.S.-Pakistan Pact! Down with the South East Asia Treaty Organisation! Down with the proposed Middle East Defence Organisation!"

Thirdly, we fight for an end to colonialism, to foreign interference in our affairs, to foreign bases and occupation of our soil. When we think of Asian freedom, let us not forget for a moment that in Malaya a savage war of oppression and brutality still continues. The Asian people say the Malayan people must be free.

Next our solidarity movement demands the immediate admission of the People's Republic of China to its rightful place in the United Nations. The campaign for the achievment of this simple demand of peace-loving people the world over must become irresistible. It is not enough to go on repeating the demand. We must see that our Governments take positive action which will compel the U.S.A. to end its unlawful and dangerous obstruction.

Fifthly, the campaign for Asian Solidarity must make every effort for a solution of the Japanese question to ensure the creation

of a free and peaceful Japan without foreign bases on its soil, and with friendly relations with all powers. The fact that the U.S. Government is more or less in complete occupation of Japan and that the rearmament of Japan is being carried out has roused among the peoples of Asia and in the Far East the realisation that Japan is sought to be utilised by the American war makers for their aggressive plans of war. The campaign for Asian solidarity will assist the great Japanese people to free themselves from foreign oppression and domination and to ensure that a new Japan will emerge to take its rightful place as a free and independent country pledged to peace.

Lastly, the campaign for Asian Solidarity must ensure the carrying forward of the cease-fires in Indo-China and Korea to a successful peace guaranteeing the freedom and unity of the peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia...

The peoples of Asia know that as long as Taiwan is allowed to be a base for U.S. military forces so long will there be a constant danger of war.

Taiwan belongs by right to China and has always been recognised as such. The interests of Peace and Justice and national sovereignty demand that Taiwan be liberated and restored to the Motherland.

This must be done without delay — this is the demand of the peoples of Asia...

The peoples of Asia look towards the World Council of Peace for assistance and advice in their struggle for peace. They are watching closely the outcome of our deliberations. They are confident that this Council will lead to the carrying forward more rapidly than ever before of their struggle for Asian Solidarity, for the building of Asia into a Continent of Peace.

We look upon our movement for Asian solidarity as part of the world struggle for peace; our movement's success depends on the links we forge with our brothers in Europe and America, Africa and Australia. Our movement stands foursquare behind the peoples of Europe in their struggle for security and against German rearmament. Our movement stands solidly behind the peoples of Latin America in their struggle against foreign intervention and behind the African peoples in their struggle against colonial slavery...

Mr. Han Sul Ya — *People's Democratic Republic of Korea*

Facts clearly show that nothing will be able to hold back the movement of the Asian peoples who are firmly resolved to defend their liberty and independence to the end.

The ruling circles of the United States refuse to recognise the great historic changes which are taking place everywhere on this vast continent. They are trying to wipe out all the precious victories achieved by the peace forces at the price of enormous sacrifices; they are trying to complicate the situation in Asia and to impose their domination on the Asian peoples. To this end, not hesitating to endanger the armistices in Korea and Indo-China, the ruling circles of the United States are violating the armistice agreements and are creating various military blocs in Asia...

The peaceful settlement of the Korean problem is of tremendous importance for the maintenance of peace and security in Asia. That is why the Korean people, supported by all peace-loving peoples, have struggled and will struggle for the peaceful solution of the Korean question and for the reunification of their country, and consider that their struggle is a sacred duty, a contribution to the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world...

But the ruling circles of the U.S.A., urging plans for aggression against Korea, tried to raise obstacles to the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem by all means and are continuing to raise these obstacles...

We consider that in the very near future a conference will have to be called on the Korean problem with the wide participation of the governments concerned; we stress this point.

The Korean problem can and must be settled on a peaceful basis without fail...

Today, North and South Koreans, vigorously supporting this appeal, have risen to fight for the establishment of contacts, for the strengthening and development of economic and cultural relations between the South and the North, and to hasten the peaceful unification of the country.

Without taking this into account, the Americans and Syngman Rhee, who abhor a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, are attempting at all costs to prevent the appeal from succeeding...

The Americans intend to embark on a new military adventure in Korea and are continuing to elaborate their sinister plans to turn the Korean people into colonial slaves.

The Korean people do not desire bloodshed. The Korean people, whose mothers and orphans have shed so many bitter tears, know better than anyone the horrors and immense suffering following in the wake of war.

Mr. M. B. Alavi — *Iran*

The foreign interventionists are persecuting the Iranian people in order to drag our country into military blocs and to pillage her natural wealth. They are constructing still more air bases everywhere, at Hamadan, at Kimmanchak, Meched, Abadan, in the North and near Teheran.

The American military missions plan to build an army equipped with the most up-to-date weapons and which would be three times its present size...

You will soon be returning to your countries bearing the great decisions which will be taken during this important session. These decisions will open new prospects for all peace-loving people whose thoughts are turned to you. We ask your to transmit the Iranian people's greetings to your people and to your movement and to assure them that the Iranian people will, together with you, carry on their struggle for peace and independence, in spite of the cruel measures being taken against them. They will go forward because they know that they are not alone, that they have the support of all peace forces throughout the world. They will continue their struggle because they know that they will win victory, the victory of peace and friendship between the peoples.

Rev. J. S. Williams — *India*

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ALLINDIA FEDERATION OF NATIONAL CHURCHES

The Indian delegation considers that it is once again necessary to draw specific attention to the increasing violence being employed against the colonial peoples. We desire to bring before you the example of Kenya, which has seen two terrible years of killing, bombing and burning...

The Indian delegation draws your attention also to the struggle of the people of Malaya... There is no doubt in the minds of honest men and women that the struggle in Malaya is the struggle of the entire people against their rulers...

We should also like to draw particular attention to the character of the military pacts which are now being entered into. Prime Minister Nehru has again and again pointed out that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is intended especially to defend the colonial territories of the imperialist powers.

The latest military pact, S.E.A.T.O., is also clearly intended to consolidate the imperialist powers' strength in Asia and is directed at suppressing the rising tide of the Asian struggle for liberation... Immediately after the signing of the S.E.A.T.O. document, Prime Minister Nehru sharply debunked the pretensions of S.E.A.T.O. to be a champion of the right of self-government of colonies...

I would like to add a personal note to this brief speech on the violence being employed against the colonial peoples in order to continue their subjection.

I stand before you as a follower of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace. He came to this earth with the great and noble purpose of bringing about peace on earth and goodwill among men. I bow my head in shame, because it is on the pretext of bringing Christian civilisation to the world that the crimes I have enumerated are being carried out in Kenya and the other colonial countries...

What crimes are being committed in the name of Christ! I appeal with all my heart to the Christian peoples of the U.S.A., Britain, France, Holland, Portugal and all imperialist countries to compel their governments to act as Christ would have them act, to stop their violence against their colonies and to grant them their independence immediately.

God made all men equal. Let us pray and work to create the kind of world, to build which Christ gave His life for us.

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani — *Pakistan*

PRESIDENT OF THE EAST PAKISTAN AWAMI LEAGUE

The Geneva Conference has shown our strength and was able substantially to reduce international tension, but elements of another world war are present in the existing situation and it is our sacred task to prevent the unleashing of another war and remove the causes which create wars. In this connection I venture to suggest a few points for consideration...

The Korean question should again be taken up with the intention of solving the outstanding problems and of taking steps to bring about the unification of the country.

The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Formosa is essential for peace in Asia. For this purpose there should be world-wide demand to stop U.S. interference in this matter internal to China.

The five points of Peaceful Coexistence as outlined in the joint declarations of the Prime Ministers of China and India, and China and Burma, form the basis of lasting peace between the nations of the world and acceptance of them by other nations of the world would substantially reduce international tension and would provide a chance for the development of a period of cooperation and friendship between the countries...

I take this opportunity also to renew my pledge to do everything I can and to use all my strength in the cause of peace, in spite of my failing health at the advanced age of sixty-nine. There is no doubt that I want to live a long time so that I can see peace reigning in the world. If, however, I am to die before, my last breath will be dedicated to the cause of peace. This is not a wish alone, it is my determination which has emerged out of my conviction and faith in my religion — Islam, which means peace. The word "Islam" is derived from the word "Salm". "Salm" also means peace, and literally "Islam" means one who is dedicated to the cause of peace. Therefore, I take it to be one of my religious duties to work for the cause of peace and I am most sincerely determined to live up to the instructions of my religious faith...

Miss Raymonde-Hawkins — *Great Britain*

Particularly am I unhappy as a woman of British nationality at my country's activities in Kenya... As a woman I deplore this suffering and this injustice. From this rostrum I wish all countries represented here to know that there are in Great Britain many just and kind and peace-loving women, who will never condone this evil and will untiringly strive to restore Human Rights to all peoples...

Mr. Le Dinh Tham — *Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED FRONT

Peace returned to Indo-China more than three months ago as a result of the long and difficult fight of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, alongside the French people and the peace-loving peoples of the world...

It the Geneva Agreement is scrupulously respected by both sides, the peoples of Indo-China will be able to build a peaceful and happy life and to establish friendly and peaceful relations among themselves, between the peoples of Indo-China and their neighbours, between the peoples of Indo-China and the French people, thus contributing effectively to the consolidation of peace in South-East Asia and in the world...

The whole world knows that before and during the Geneva Conference the American Government sought by every available means to sabotage it. When, in spite of their wishes, the Conference concluded successfully, it hurried to set up S.E.A.T.O.

S.E.A.T.O., far from being a defence organisation, is in reality an aggressive bloc created by the United States with the aim of enabling her to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of South-East Asia, to plunder their natural wealth and to turn them into military bases for use against China in a third world war. Primarily this bloc is designed to sabotage the Geneva agreement, by extending its zone of protection to include Laos, Cambodia and South Viet-Nam. It is a crude violation of articles 18 and 19 of this agreement...

Nonetheless, in spite of the sabotage inspired by this sudden change, the people and government of Viet-Nam will do everything in their power to honour their signature. They are determined to scrupulously carry out the Geneva Agreement; they are ready to continue negotiations with France for the establishment of friendly relations between our two countries...

Whilst fighting for peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia, the Vietnamese people will support the struggle of the people of the whole world for national independence, the relaxation of international tension and peace. Especially will they support the French people's fight against West German rearmament, for they know that peace is indivisible...

The forces of peace are vast. Let us endeavour to mobilise them for the forthcoming Peace Congress in 1955. They must be invincible.

Mr. Liu Ning-I — *China*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ALL CHINA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

There have been new developments in the situation of peace in Asia, but this does not mean that there is no longer the menace of war and aggression...

The United States fleet is still stationed in the Taiwan Strait and Taiwan has become a nest of traitors and pirates...

Taiwan is Chinese territory. This is an indisputable fact. The liberation of the Chinese territory, Taiwan Province, and the islands of the Chinese sea coast, is a matter of Chinese sovereignty and is her internal affair...

The Chinese people's opposition to U.S. intervention in and occupation of Taiwan or to interference in China's internal affairs, is fixed and unchangeable. The Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan is also a struggle to defend world peace...

We want to point out the serious danger to peace in Asia of the so-called "South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty". The signatories of this treaty, except the three Asian countries which have already signed military aid pacts with the United States, are not countries in Asia. Obviously, the organisation established by this treaty is only a military alliance of colonial powers. This military alliance supports the United States' hostile policy to China and facilitates United States aggression in all the Asian countries. As pointed out by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, this is "a sphere of influence controlled by great powers"...

The United States has already built up in Asia the aggressive A.N.Z.U.S. pact, the U.S.-Pakistan Military Aid Agreement and S.E.A.T.O. Now the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek mutual security pact is being prepared. The United States is also preparing to organise a North-East Asia alliance which will drag in Japan. What we peoples of Asia demand is peaceful coexistence, whereas what the United States warlike clique is creating in Asia is division and war, which is completely opposed to the interests of the Asian peoples...

Therefore the tasks before us are:

1) To stop the United States occupation of Chinese territory in Taiwan, oppose the unreasonable interference in, and any form of obstruction of the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people...

2) To solve as soon as possible the question of the peaceful unification of Korea on the principle of respect for the national rights of the Korean people and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world...

3) To observe strictly the various agreements relating to the armistice in Indo-China and stop all direct and indirect acts of sabotage of the armistice agreement.

4) To resolutely oppose S.E.A.T.O., the rearming of Japan and other plans for military blocs which serve the purpose of division and war...

5) To extend the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence to all countries of Asia and to the countries outside Asia. To extend the area of peace and establish collective peace and security.

Mrs. Yves Farge — *France*

Two opposing policies are already confronting each other in Viet-Nam; one is a constructive policy which recognises the validity of the agreements made at Geneva, and wants on this basis to develop peaceful cooperation; the other seeks to maintain and impose, against all logic, a policy of force which has already been proved disastrous and which aims, perhaps, at avoiding the 1956 elections envisaged by the Geneva Agreements and which would enable the people of Viet-Nam to find Peace, unity and national independence again.

Unfortunately, the fears aroused by this latter policy soon proved to be well founded, for on 9th September last France signed the Manila Agreement which is completely opposed to the spirit of the Geneva Agreement ...

But I can assure you that the meaning of these dangers has not escaped the vigilance of the French people who understand that there is only one reasonable policy for France to follow, that of scrupulously observing the Geneva agreements and of concluding the economic and cultural agreements indispensable for the establishment of a lasting cooperation between our two countries...

This policy of mutual respect and cooperation which France ought to pursue with Viet-Nam, must also be the golden rule in her relations with the peoples of the overseas territories.

Mr. Salem Ahmad — *Iraq*

The Iraqi people fight the Middle Eastern military pact because they know that Peace means freedom and that war means increased subjection and atomic destruction.

The National Front which was formed six months ago between right and left wing parties adopted the following points in its programme:

1. The annulment of the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty and the evacuation of foreign troops from Iraq.

2. Opposition to all military and imperialist pacts, including the Turkey-Pakistan Pact.

3. Rejection of American military assistance.

4. To work to save Iraq and the Arab countries from the horrors of an imperialist war and for the adoption by Iraq of an attitude favourable to the peaceful settlement of international issues through negotiation.

Mr. Tawfiq Toubi — *Israel*
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

Wishing to make the Middle East an auxiliary base for their operations for carrying out their policy of power politics, armaments and military alliances, the authors of the London and Paris Agreements labour unceasingly to build up an aggressive military pact of the countries of the Middle East... and to lead the Arab countries and Israel into an arms race, which, while creating military reserves in our region, binds these countries hard and fast to the imperialist chariot even more than at present.

Doctor George Hanna — *Lebanon*

The peoples of the Near and Middle East — and I know them very well — have the greatest possible dread of the idea of war, not only because they understand all the horror and peril of its threat to human civilisation, but still more because they see that war is the only remaining pretext which the imperialists can invoke to enforce their plans and postpone liberation for as long as possible...

I am pleased to be able to tell you here that our people's struggle is always positive in content. Our people are no longer satisfied with passive resistance to the war plans and to imperialism. As a result of the growing effect of this struggle, trade is increasing between our countries and other countries of widely differing political systems, in spite of the imperialist pressure which formerly forced the governments to trade only with the Western Powers. The Great International Fair held in Damascus last summer helped this trade and showed how valuable it is.

Mr. Mustapha Amin — *Syria*

Our people fight the policy of war blocs and alliances and support with all their strength the timely proposal for the conclusion of a pact of collective security between the Great Powers in which all the other states would take part...

It is becoming more and more difficult for any people who hope for Peace and progress, and to enjoy their independence, their national sovereignty and their natural wealth, to remain unscathed by the policy of war pacts and blocs...

And it is for precisely this reason that the proposal for the conclusion of a pact of collective security meets with a warm response from small colonial or dependent nations.

Mr. Abdel Kader — *Jordan*

The people of Jordan, together with the other peoples of the Middle East, are beginning to understand the full importance of world peace and the extent to which it is linked with their freedom and their country's sovereignty and independence...

That is why we are defenders of peace and why we struggle for its consolidation as far as our poor means allow. That is why we have opposed and continue to oppose military pacts and blocs in any shape or form...

Mr. Sugardo — *Indonesia*

Only peace can give us the opportunity to build up our new Republic, to give back to our people the energy to endure any spiritual or material test, to restore the means of production, to nationalise those means of production which control the life of the nation, to produce the raw materials which are necessary for building up a national industry.

That is why we reject any idea of war or any idea which can lead to war, such as military pacts or embargoes. We, the government and the people, reject S.E.A.T.O. for instance...

West Irian, an integral part of Indonesia, is still a colony. Any form of colonisation is a menace to Peace.

This colonised territory of Indonesia is being used as a base for activities contrary to the interests of our people, our legal Government and our country. This too is a menace to Peace.

Not only is it being used as a base for aggressive purposes against Indonesia, but also it could be very conveniently used by S.E.A.T.O. as a base for aggressive purposes in East Asia. It is therefore a menace to world Peace...

I would draw your attention to the latest development in international politics in South-East Asia, namely the preparation by our government, heartily assisted by the Indian Government, of a conference of Asian and African countries at the beginning of next year...

We can contribute by holding a similar conference to put the people's point of view. It is for this reason that the Indonesian delegation welcomes the news of the Asian Peace Conference which is now being prepared by the Peace Movement in India...

Professor Schmidt speaking in the Cultural Commission

Point Five of the Agenda

SITUATION CREATED IN LATIN AMERICA BY INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NATIONS

Mr. Jose da Frota Moreira — *Brasil*

MEMBER OF FEDERAL PARLIAMENT
GENERAL SECRETARY BRAZILIAN LABOUR PARTY

Report presented on behalf of the Brazilian delegation

The rousing of Latin American public opinion against weapons of mass destruction, against atomic and hydrogen bombs and bacteriological warfare, the great continent-wide campaign to prevent our peoples from being dragged into the Korean war, the movement against bilateral pacts which was conducted among the peoples and in the parliaments of various countries, the campaign for a peace pact between the Five Great Powers and for the peaceful solution of international issues, the consistent and ever more energetic action of our peoples to defend their countries' sovereignty against the attacks made on it as a result of the policy of war preparations — these are some aspects of Latin America's contribution to the cause of world peace...

In Europe and Asia, where the peoples are winning such significant victories, the forces interested in war feel the ground very shaky under their feet. They are therefore greatly increasing their pressure on Latin America. Really dramatic events are taking place in our countries and our peoples are menaced by grave threats...

A whole series of agreements, pacts and treaties — of which a typical example is the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, the precursor of the Atlantic Pact, and in fact the legal instrument binding all the countries of Latin America to the Atlantic Pact — and bilateral pacts run counter at many points to what is specifically set out in the Constitutions of a number of Latin American countries. Moreover, they in no way correspond to the interests of our nations since they lay on the latter the legal obligation to take part in wars all over the world, without our peoples being consulted and even against their will. It is to be noted that this policy is so little to the liking of public opinion that in a number of countries these treaties have not yet been ratified by parliament.

Treaties, pacts and agreements can only be accepted and respected by the peoples of Latin America if they obey the Charter of the United Nations in the letter and in the spirit, that is to say if they further collaboration and cooperation between the nations on a world scale... Unfortunately, we are seeing the transformation of the countries of Latin America, alongside the United States, into a regional military bloc which limits our countries' participation in an overall policy of world cooperation. The restrictive nature of this bloc is so marked that up to now Canada, one of the most important countries on the American continent, has not joined it because it contains too many limitations...

What we are witnessing is a whole process of intensive militarisation of the countries of Latin America whose effects are to be seen in the growth of the war industries, above all the strategic minerals industry, to the detriment of the peacetime industries which are coming up against growing difficulties in all the countries of Latin America...

There is also a well-known fact to which the delegates of Uruguay and Ecuador at the Ninth General Assembly of the United Nations made constant reference. It is that the United States do not give credits to be used for improving the standard of living of the peoples of Latin America, whereas they always grant credit facilities for undertakings of a purely strategic nature... These works are not only unremunerative; they involve an increase in the burdens weighing down our peoples.

One aspect of the present situation in Latin America which cannot be mentioned too often is the discrimination and restrictions imposed on the diplomatic, economic and cultural relations between our countries and the other countries of the world on the pretext of differing and incompatible social and political systems. This artificial and forced restriction of our international relations to a narrow circle of countries is a cause of growing difficulties of all kinds, mainly in the economic and financial fields...

The national budgets of our countries are not peace budgets. The biggest items of expenditure in these budgets are for military purposes and they are increasing every year...

A wide network of newspapers, radio programmes and other means of publicity is being used for war propaganda... This propaganda is diametrically opposed to the peaceful traditions of our national cultures for its aim is to create a mentality favourable to war and seeks to subordinate all cultural activity to the interests of those who want war...

It is thus clear that in Latin America we are faced with open and direct interference by aggressive international forces in the internal life and affairs of our countries. The participation of the countries of Latin America in international life is not based on the needs of our national life, the real interests and the best aspirations of our peoples, but, on the contrary, reflects the interference of foreign forces in our internal affairs. Since this interference inevitably means the oppression of our peoples and can only be carried out by holding down their growing resistance, its champions are now beginning to use extreme methods. That is why Latin America is going through a period of states of emergency, of *coups d'Etat* setting up military dictatorships, of attempts to set our peoples against each other... and to provoke the foreign invasion of certain countries...

The reality of this situation on our continent is recognised and publicly proclaimed by a growing number of eminent people, especially now that the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas has thrown a new light on these problems. For at Caracas the Latin American delegates had imposed on them an agenda the central aim of which was that the countries of Latin America should renounce their sovereignty. In spite of the insistence of a number of Latin American delegates it was impossible to get problems connected with the bad economic and financial situation of our countries discussed there. What they wanted to do, and what they did, at Caracas, in spite of the resistance of such countries as Guatemala, Mexico, Argentine and Uruguay, was to legally establish the principle of armed intervention by certain countries on the continent in the internal affairs of certain others under the pretext of defending the continent. This principle was immediately afterwards applied in the case of Guatemala.

On the international level this situation is leading the governments of the countries of Latin America to give systematic support to the policy of blocs, of collective insecurity and of the cold war. The most striking example of this, generally speaking, is the behaviour of the Latin American delegates in the United Nations. The countries of Latin America represent approximately a third of the member countries of this great world organisation and it is almost always they who decide the result of the votes and render difficult the implementation of the express principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In this way they make international disputes worse instead of seeking a peaceful settlement of them. It is not even necessary to say that this stand adopted by the Latin American delegations does not meet with the support of our peoples, who have never stopped demanding loyalty to the Charter and particularly the recognition of the legitimate right of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations, which they look upon as a factor making for peace...

A people cannot rise to defend itself against aggression unless it has a heritage to defend, its freedom and its rights, its culture,

traditions and customs, its particular way of life, and its own outlook. But the policy of war preparations — which is presented as being based on the need to defend ourselves against so-called aggressors from outside — tends to exterminate democratic freedoms and the rights of the citizens. It implies the spiritual deformation of the people and the imposition of the way of life of those who deal in war. Through all the difficulties of their development our peoples have created cultures whose most authentic and deepest characteristic — and we are proud of this — is their love of peace and of other peoples. How could we defend, as they are trying to make us do, a conception of international policy which presents the H-bomb as the principal guardian of peace? This, as we can see, is a gross distortion of our outlook...

It is in no way an exaggeration to say that in truth we are confronted with external aggression — real and palpable this time — which is working our economic ruin and our intellectual deformation, which is, in short, leading to the disappearance of the national sovereignty of our countries...

Within the general compass of the struggle for a relaxation of international tension during 1954 there developed in Latin America, and very strongly in certain countries, the struggle for free economic and commercial exchanges. Its results have been so significant that the barriers are already beginning to fall...

At the same time, there is a broad and deep development of activity for the defence of our national cultures and for free cultural exchanges on a reciprocal basis...

The decisions of the Caracas Conference gave rise to a wide movement of condemnation throughout our continent and this was expressed with great force in all the countries of Latin America without exception when, later, a blow was struck at the sovereignty of the Republic of Guatemala, sacrificed to the interests of the forces that want war. The wave of popular protest roused an echo and found support among many organisations representing all sections of Latin American society, in a large part of the press of the continent and from members of parliament who, in Chile, Argentine and Uruguay, adopted resolutions of protest against the invasion of this little republic of Central America. At Santiago de Chile — and this is something new on our continent — there was held a conference of members of parliament and public figures of Latin America in which eminent persons from nine countries took part. Men of the most diverse political views demonstrated their rejection of the resolutions of the Caracas Conference which grant the United States, with the complicity of the illegal governments of Latin America, a so-called right of intervention in the political and economic life of our peoples...

It is by struggles such as these, linked up with other struggles inspired by the appeals of the World Council of Peace, that the peoples of Latin America have taken further strides in the defence of peace, world security and national sovereignty.

The National Peace Movements are always to be found in the van of these struggles; they are the heart and soul of the struggle for peace on our continent. The development and success of the struggle for peace in Latin America are to a great extent due to the defenders of peace and to the National Peace Movements...

At the present time the peoples of the whole world are victoriously struggling against the policy of blocs and for joint security. The peoples of Latin America understand that the greatest contribution they can make to this noble cause is to struggle against the state of absolute insecurity to which they have been reduced by the policy of war preparations and to fight for true security.

The struggle for the security of the peoples of Latin America is first of all the struggle against the policy of military blocs which is at present in force on the continent, the struggle against interference in the internal affairs of our countries, the struggle for national defence and national sovereignty, for the right to decide our own future, for international cooperation with all countries on a footing of equality and reciprocal advantage.

It is, therefore, the struggle for free economic, commercial and cultural exchanges with all countries and all peoples, for a general agreement on disarmament including the banning of weapons of mass destruction and ensuring that strategic materials are used for peaceful purposes, the struggle against militarisation and for peace budgets, the struggle against war propaganda and for the preservation and development of our national cultures. It is the struggle to strengthen the fraternal bonds between the countries and peoples of Latin America...

Dr. Alvaro Uribe — *Colombia*

War preparation has led to the whittling down of democratic liberties and to a situation of insecurity for the people and states of Latin America with the result that all national aspirations are ignored or rejected as impairing the security of the continent. So long as the policy of war preparation is pursued, no Latin American state has the slightest possibility of becoming master of its own wealth or of freely electing a government even slightly democratic...

Nations with no problem of boundaries or national minorities, and which do not represent conflicting commercial interests, which, in short, are naturally inclined to peace, maintain great useless armies permanently and acquire the most modern and costly weapons.

However, these unnecessary forces do not, unfortunately, remain inactive; they are used to repress the people's demands and to open wide the door to the ruthless exploitation of the country by foreign companies.

As an illustration of what I have just said, I may quote the case of Colombia, an almost wholly agricultural country, whose military commitments amount to 33 per cent of the entire national budget while the amount destined to develop crops and livestock is no more then 1·8 per cent of public expenditure...

The state of international tension also favours, and even provokes, the erection of barriers and obstacles to free trade between the nations. Moreover it makes it impossible to send any possible surplus products to those new markets whose purchasing power has recently expanded...

The twenty votes of the Latin American countries at U.N.O. — a third of the total vote of the Assembly — have often been used to frustrate the proposals of the Asian and African countries expressing their will to get out of their position of dependence...

It is, then, necessary and urgent to initiate a mass campaign to have the votes of the Latin American countries in the United Nations express the people's will to peace and cease to serve as a brake on the national aspirations of other peoples of the world...

The success of a campaign with these aims would be the most solid foundation for making Latin America a powerful area of peace that would correspond, in our hemisphere, to what the Asian nations are developing on the basis of the five principles proclaimed by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-Lai.

General Heriberto Jara — *Mexico*

We must repeat over and over again what a quarter of a century of this era has amply demonstrated, that peaceful coexistence between peoples with differing political systems is possible, no matter how much they may be opposed to each other...

We must work to get a meeting of the Five Great Powers as soon as possible, including People's China; for not only would the exclusion of a nation containing a quarter of the world's population be unjust, but also peace could not be established on a solid foundation without having the opinion of such an important nation beforehand...

For the effective development of its economic prosperity, Latin America is concerned to avoid a war which, even if it broke out in Europe, would without doubt extend all over the world. But it is equally undeniable that peace in Europe would be strengthened by the firm resolve of the peoples of Latin Anerica to devote their energies exclusively to their own development, dissociating themselves from the forces which seek to involve them in a war economy.

Mr. Salvador Allende — *Chile*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

The international commitments entered into by our governments have prevented and still prevent free trade; and the policy of blocs, along with that of military pacts, aggravates the crisis of markets for Latin-American raw materials.

Latin-American production has been arbitrarily classified — and not by the countries concerned — into two groups: strategic and non-strategic products. The first can only be freely sold on the world market according to the principles of supply and demand at the risk of incurring multiple economic and financial sanctions.

We have seen that past events in Indo-China and Korea have a strong repercussion in our countries.

We realise the dangers which the policy of blocs and the rearmament of Western Germany entails, not only for Europe but for the entire world.

The heroic sacrifice of the Guatemalan people — and let me here pay them a fraternal tribute — must awaken in America a spirit of rebellion against injustice and must strengthen the determination of the peoples to struggle for their independence, to win respect for their right to self-determination and sovereignty.

Just as the individual American demands the right to freedom, culture, work and health, the peoples of America want economic collaboration instead of exploitations, respect for their sovereignty instead of vassalisation, social justice instead of poverty.

That is why we struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence between all peoples.

Mr. Adalberto Ortiz — *Ecuador*

The countries of Latin America, including my own, have been forced to sign bilateral pacts of mutual aid which mean that in the event of war we should lose our national sovereignty and independence, of which we have little enough at the present time. These pacts violate the principle of non-intervention and the principles of the United Nations Charter . . .

In these circumstances, a new world war would force us to participate directly in the killing by sending big contingents of soldiers, and our small armies would go and fight on foreign territory, as in the tragic example of Colombia during the Korean war.

Mr. Vicente Lombardo Toledano — *Mexico*

PRESIDENT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CONFEDERATION OF WORKERS

Because of their economic structure, which is reflected in their forms of government, and because of their geographical situation, the Latin American peoples, notwithstanding the differences in their historical development, are living in a difficult situation of which the principle characteristics are:

greater economic dependence on foreign countries than ever before,

greater outside political influence on their internal political life than formerly,

growing Anglo-American interference in their cultural development . . .

By historical experience and by instinct our peoples are convinced that they cannot play an important role in major world problems because in spite of the enormous extent of their territory, their big population and their great natural riches, they are clearly not masters of their own destiny. That is why they invariably link international problems of war and peace to the great problem of their national independence. For them the outlook is good if there are friendly relations between the nations, because that means that their historic development will not be held back by unreasonable demands and by the dangers which the economic expansion of the great powers has always represented for their vital interests . . .

In the foreground is Mr. Salvador Allende, Vice-President of the Chilean Senate

Mr. Alfredo Varela — *Argentine*

For example, at the moment a conference of Finance Ministers of all the Americas is taking place in Rio de Janeiro. It is purely and simply a repetition of the Caracas Conference in the economic sphere. From the point of view of the real interests of our countries, we can say now that it will fail, without fear of being contradicted by the facts. It is a stillborn conference, because of the scepticism of the peoples and of its promoters themselves. What the representatives of the war policy are seeking there, is clearly to legalise and intensify the submission of our countries, to complete their domination of our foreign trade to secure a wider monopoly of our oil and other strategic raw materials . . .

Our common action is not directed against the United States. We are not anti-American. We like the vigourous people of the North and we want to be friendly neighbours. We do not forget that their fight for independence preceded and inspired ours, that our statesmen learned from Lincoln and Washington and our poets from Walt Whitman. But we categorically oppose the tiny minority, the handful of influential aggressors, who trample on us, who want to "guatemalise" us, who impose their war-like plans on us and have converted countries which are so richly endowed by nature into wretched Cinderellas.

Mrs. Emilia Prieto Lugores — *Costa-Rica*

At the present time intrigues similar to those to which Guatemala was subjected are being carried on against Costa Rica. They take the form of blackmailing the present democratic government, prevailing upon it to destroy those liberties which we still enjoy. As a result of these intrigues our government found itself obliged to arm . . . in violation of the constitution which forbids the use of arms and the setting up of an army on our territory. American military missions undertake military instruction in the secondary schools, a fact which the whole press, even the most reactionary, has energetically condemned . . .

But this tendency to armaments is spreading everywhere on the much coveted isthmus of Central America, and we must continue to struggle tenaciously against it, considering it as the greatest menace to our small countries. At the same time we must strengthen the political consciousness of our peoples. In exposing them, we must emphasise that warlike intrigues are at the source of these manœuvres which I denounce here today . . .

Mrs. Prieto Lugores was unable to deliver her speech as she only arrived at the end of the session. She handed the text of her speech to the platform.

Point Four of the Agenda

ACTION OF THE PEACE FORCES TO SECURE DISARMAMENT AND THE PROHIBITION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Dr. E. H. S. Burhop — *Great Britain*

UNIVERSITY READER IN PHYSICS, LONDON

We cannot, we dare not rest until agreement has been reached on this issue. Every day's delay increases the difficulty of the problem technically, politically, and from a military point of view . . .

But from a political point of view the danger of delay in securing agreement on disarmament and the control of these weapons is gravest of all. We all envisage how profoundly the rearmament of Germany is likely to affect thinking on all questions related to disarmament. An entirely new factor will be injected into the discussions. How will we be able to go to the people of France, of Britain, of Belgium, of Holland, of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of the U.S.S.R. and advocate they should all reduce their arms, destroy nuclear weapons, at precisely the same time as the former Nazi generals are again getting back their arms and getting access to nuclear weapons? Our two great campaigns for the defeat of German rearmament and for general disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons are really two aspects of the same campaign. That is why it is so terribly urgent to see that agreement is reached . . .

It may perhaps be helpful at this stage to summarise the differences that have held up agreement on the question of the control of nuclear weapons during the past eight years.

In the first place there has been a difference about the aim of any control scheme. The Soviet view has been that the aims should be to secure the absolute banning of these weapons and that the production of these weapons should cease immediately and the dismantling of existing stocks should be completed within a few months of the coming into force of the control plan.

On the other hand, the American Baruch Plan (supported throughout by the governments of Britain and France) envisaged that when the control scheme was finally functioning there would be no nuclear weapons being produced by any national government, nor would there be any stocks of such weapons in the armament of any national army. But it still made it possible for nuclear weapons to be manufactured and held by an international authority, not necessarily responsible to the United Nations. Furthermore, the abolition of atomic weapons from national armies and the handing over of stocks and full productive facilities to the international authority would only occur as the final stage of a series of stages which would take an indefinite time to implement. During all this time national production of nuclear weapons would continue unabated.

Secondly, according to the Baruch Plan the internationa Atomic Development Authority (A.D.A.) would have the absolute right to send inspectors anywhere and everywhere without notice throughout the territory of every nation of the world, looking for violation of the control agreement. This would include the right to carry out unscheduled aeroplane reconnaissance flights over any country. It is now widely recognised that this proposal was quite unrealistic. One could not expect the Russians to agree to a system of inspection by an Authority under the virtual control of the U.S.A., which would have been the effect of the Baruch proposals. And it is quite unlikely that the U.S. authorities, who have refused to share atomic secrets even with their allies, would permit this type of inspection to take place on their territory if the authority were not under their virtual control.

In an ideal world where international tensions and misunderstandings have been removed such a scheme might be practicable. But how can one envisage either the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. allowing it to operate under present circumstances? The plain truth of the matter is that there is no way of obtaining an absolutely perfect system of security. In this respect the Russian proposals are perhaps more realistic. They provide for a high level of security and of safeguards against violations of agreements. But they do not go as far as the Baruch proposals. No doubt in further negotiations a compromise solution could be worked out. But such a compromise would have to ensure that any control plan did not provide a cover for an elaborate system of espionage.

As mentioned above, the Soviet plan provided for quite an elaborate system of inspection which could have been welded into an effective instrument of control. All atomic establishments in all countries would be subject to continuous inspection by the international authority. The teams of inspectors would be selected on an international principle. To guard against clandestine production in unscheduled establishments it proposed setting up a search warrant procedure. According to this, complaints about violation of the control scheme could be taken to the international authority. These complaints could be taken by individuals, by representatives of organisations, or by government representatives. The evidence produced could be circumstantial or could be based on suspicion only.

If the international authority decided that a prima facie case of violation had been made out, the government on whose territory the violations were said to have occurred would be required to throw open its territory for such inspection as would be needed to enable the authority to decide whether or not such violation had in fact taken place. All decisions of the international authority concerning its day-to-day working, according to the Soviet plan, and including the question whether a prima facie case of violation had been established, would be taken by a simple majority vote without any veto applying.

Thirdly, according to the Baruch Plan the Atomic Development Authority would actually own all atomic energy plants of any size, including power stations, in every country throughout the world. They would also have the right to decide where these plants would be located. The decision on their location would be decided not on the basis of where atomic power was most needed, but rather according to strategic considerations.

On the other hand the Soviet plan, while envisaging the authority as a body with considerable powers of control, was not prepared to agree to its owning all atomic facilities. It must be admitted that this question of ownership has proved probably the most substantial obstacle to agreement on international control of atomic energy. Clearly ownership is not a prerequisite for effective control. Indeed it is rather irrelevant to it. Why, then, the insistence on the part of the American Government that no scheme could be acceptable that did not include ownership? The repeated demand not only for control, but for actual ownership, has led to the suspicion that the true aim of the Baruch plan goes beyond that of the control of atomic energy and seeks to provide means of interference in the internal economy of states . . .

The remaining point of disagreement between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union concerned the question of the relation of the Security Council to the international control organ. According to the Baruch Plan, the Atomic Development Authority had either to be completely independent of the Security Council and endowed with sufficient power to enforce sanctions in the event of its deciding some breach of the control agreement had been committed by a state; or alternatively, if the question of sanctions for violation of atomic agreements continued to be the province of the Security Council, then the unanimity rule (the so-called veto) should not apply.

On the other hand, the Soviet plan definitely maintained that questions of sanctions for violations of international agreements in the field of atomic energy, no less than any other action threatening international Peace and security, should remain the responsibility of the Security Council. But that all the day-to-day activities of the International Control authority, including the question of deciding on special searches, should be decided on a simple majority vote with no veto applying . . .

In May 1954 a sub-committee of the Disarmament Committee consisting of representatives of the Great Powers met in London . . .

One of the most important developments of the London discussions was the tabling of a new plan on behalf of the British and French governments which did represent a substantial compromise compared with their previous position. Instead of postponing the cessation of atomic weapon production until an indefinite date in the distant future, it proposed that this should take place as soon as one half the agreed reduction in conventional arms had been achieved . . .

One provision of the Anglo-French proposals ... provides that overall military manpower and overall military expenditure, atomic and non-atomic, should be limited to the levels in effect on 31st December 1953, and that the agreed reductions should take place from those levels. Acceptance of these provisions would effectively dispose of the question of German rearmament.

During the present session of the United Nations Assembly in New York, the change in the Anglo-French position was matched by a considerable change in the position of the Soviet Government as a result of which real progress has been made toward a solution of these problems ...

According to the terms of the new Soviet proposals atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction would still be entirely prohibited eventually, while all other armaments, together with the size of the armed forces and budget expenditure for military purposes, would be reduced to agreed levels. It is clear that the Soviet Government has made a major concession.

Previously the U.S.S.R. has always insisted (and I believe in this they would have the support of the vast majority of the people), that the abolition of weapons of mass destruction with strict control of the enforcement of this abolition should begin right at the start of any disarmament plan. Since, however, the Western Powers have not agreed to this, the Soviet Government has now accepted a point of view similar in many respects to that set out in the Anglo-French proposals. Specifically, it now proposes that the disarmament should be carried out in stages, the abolition of nuclear weapons coming in the second stage. In the first stage half the agreed reduction in conventional weapons would take place. This stage would take between six and twelve months to complete. A provisional international control commission would check up on the carrying out of this stage.

At the beginning of the second stage the manufacture of all nuclear weapons would cease completely. During this stage, which would also last from six to twelve months, all existing nuclear weapons would be dismantled and the material in them made available solely for peaceful purposes. At the same time the remainder of the agreed reduction in conventional weapons, armed forces and military budgets would be made.

The carrying out of the second stage and the later reductions of armaments would be controlled by a permanent international body which would have the right of continuous inspection of all atomic energy establishments. This body would send its inspectors in right at the beginning of the second stage and would, of course, continue in existence for an indefinite period. It would have the right not only of inspecting but of giving appropriate orders concerning the operation of plants. The plants would operate according to a set of technical rules which would be drawn up in advance and would cover all types of process associated with the production and utilisation of atomic energy. Decisions connected with the day-to-day activities of the control body would be taken by a simple majority vote. If an atomic enterprise refused to operate according to the agreed rules, or if there were other breaches of undertakings, these would be reported by the control authority to the Security Council, together with recommendations for action. Action involving sanctions could only be taken by decision of the Security Council. Like the Anglo-French plan the Soviet proposals take the levels existing in December 1953 as those from which disarmament would commence ...

Powerful interests are already arguing both in Britain and America that the new Russian proposals represent no change in the position. This is quite wrong. Two real steps have been taken to meet the views of the West. On the one hand it is no longer insisted as a preliminary to any control scheme that each state should make an unconditional renunciation of the use of atomic weapons. On the other hand, the principle of disarmament in stages has been accepted, the abolition of atomic weapons occurring in the second stage ...

We must continue our campaign with renewed vigour for disarmament and the abolition of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons until these ends have been achieved. The race to accumulate nuclear weapons means that not only are we embarked on a path that could well end in the destruction of all that mankind has built and striven for through the centuries. It means, further, that we are largely depriving ourselves of many of the exciting peaceful possibilities that nuclear science could bring ...

Before mankind arises the vision of a higher standard of life, of greater wealth than one could ever imagine, of the gradual elimination of much of the drudgery and many of the routine jobs by the fuller employment of mechanical means made possible owing to the development of ample sources of power ...

The World Peace Movement can play a very important role in the struggle to secure the rapid and wide application of atomic energy to peaceful ends. It does not fight for Peace in narrow fields but is active along the whole broad front of the struggle for Peace. That is why I would appeal particularly to scientists throughout the world to support its efforts because its success in the struggle is the surest way to secure those conditions that would make for the widest application of science to the constructive peaceful uses we all have so much in mind. But in this fight we need the active support and participation of all people whatever their race, colour, creed or calling. The united action of large sections of the people for Peace has already stopped the war in Korea, ended the fighting in Indo-China and defeated the E.D.C. agreements. It can be successful too in the struggle for disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons ...

Make nuclear energy the servant, not the scourge of mankind! Success in this great struggle can be and will be ours!

Mr. Gustave Cotelle — *France*

It was with the greatest enthusiasm and hope that we greeted the joint resolution on disarmament presented in the United Nations by the Canadian, French, British, American and Soviet delegations on October 22, 1954.

For, indeed, it was the first time since this important question began being debated in responsible international circles that the great powers had taken an important step nearer each other's positions ...

There is no doubt that, if they are ratified, the London and Paris agreements will put off to an indefinite future the solution of the disarmament problem ...

By bringing about a violent increase of tension, German rearmament will open a new and perhaps catastrophic phase in the vicious circle of rearmament, by destroying for a very long time, and perhaps utterly, all that has been accomplished with the aim of achieving general and controlled disarmament ...

Because disarmament is one of the most substantial and promising of the results that we expect from a peaceful solution of the German problem, you will understand perfectly that this solution is of interest to all the peoples of the world and not only to the German people and their immediate neighbours.

Rev. Clifford H. Macquire — *Great Britain*

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Three years ago I was a guest of the World Council of Peace and on that occasion I was given the opportunity to speak and though even then I did not share all the things that you said I evidently did not offend you, because I have been invited again ...

I am a Pacifist, that is, a conscientious objector to war ...

I have spent many months travelling in America, in Europe and in the Soviet Union, and everywhere I go men speak with enthusiasm of peace. If talking about peace were enough there would be no more wars ...

I believe that we shall not break through the present state of fear and suspicion merely by talking about it, but when some nation is prepared to have the courage to renounce the way of war and abandon the H-bomb and all other armaments. I believe, therefore that we should all be working in our own countries to that end ...

There are good humanitarian reasons for renouncing war; there are good socialist reasons for renouncing war, as Mr. Ehrenburg reminded us; there are even commonsense reasons for doing so — but there are imperative reasons for the Christians to renounce war ...

Professor Georgi Nadjakov — *Bulgaria*

One of the most important questions bound up with the international situation at the present time is without doubt that of disarmament and the prohibition of atomic, thermo-nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The peoples insist that an agreement on this question of prime importance must be concluded. They want the unlimited possibilities of atomic energy to be used not for the mass extermination of men, but for peaceful ends ...

Mr. Josue de Castro, President of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, presided over the sitting of the World Council of Peace in which the action of peace forces to secure disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction was discussed.

Mr. Alexander Korneichuk — *U.S.S.R.*

Loyal to its peace policy, the Soviet Union cannot accept that agreement is impossible because it has not yet been reached. It is for this reason that our Government has made a new proposal to conclude an International Convention on the reduction of armaments and the banning of atomic, thermo-nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and agreed to base this Convention on the Franco-British proposals. Desiring to reach this agreement as quickly as possible, the Soviet Union does not, in this new proposal, make the implementation of the programme envisaged depend on an immediate decision to renounce the use of the atomic weapon as a first step towards complete banning. A comparison of the Soviet and Franco-British proposals suffices to show that they are identical in their main lines . . .

The Soviet Union accepts the principle of stages advocated by the Western Powers and considers that the supervision must be organised in such a way as to correspond with the tasks of each stage. She is of the opinion that the rights and powers of the Control bodies must be defined in the International Convention and that, in consequence, the first task is to conclude such a Convention . . .

The bitter experience of the 20th Century has shown that the greatest, gravest and most real threat to peace and the peaceful life of Europe is German militarism.

Twice has it marched over Europe. Twice it has been crushed at the cost of millions of lives, and yet here it is reviving and rising up again before us. We must not under-estimate this danger, the more so as this time it is intended to put weapons of mass destruction — atomic weapons — in its hands . . .

The peoples of the world must redouble their efforts today in the struggle for the banning of nuclear weapons and for a reduction in all types of armaments.

We cannot fail to note that in the U.S.A., particularly in the last few months, representatives of different social strata are putting forward more and more demands for an end to the armaments race and for the banning of nuclear weapons. We wholeheartedly wish the great American people success in this noble fight for peace and goodwill between the peoples.

The peoples of the world are demanding that this great scientific discovery — the splitting of the atomic nucleus — shall never be used as a destructive force but only for the benefit of man . . .

At the present time in the Soviet Union atomic energy is more and more being used in agriculture, industry, medicine, and in many other branches of our national life . . .

While upholding the principle of international cooperation for the peaceful utilisation of atomic energy, we must stress that the solution of this problem can not claim priority over the problem that concerns the peoples of the world; the problem of banning the use of this mighty energy for military purposes. Only an absolute ban on atomic weapons will guarantee the necessary conditions for the peaceful use of atomic energy, will place a vast natural force at the service of man, will open up the really extraordinary prospect of a rapid increase in wealth and a tremendous improvement in the standard of living of all peoples . . .

Mr. Josue de Castro — *Brazil*

PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED NATIONS FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANISATION

From the data collected by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation, the F.A.O., of which I have the honour to be President we know that two-thirds of mankind are still living in hunger, or rather dying of hunger because their food supply is neither adequate nor sufficient . . .

The world has resources enough to support a much greater population than at present. Nature is not unkind, she has sufficient resources, she is good, she is generous. Those who have not been generous are certain groups of men who have seized the natural resources and divided them in a very unjust, very unequal fashion.

The joint budgets of all the international bodies which give technical assistance represent but an insignificant fraction of the war budgets of the great powers . . .

There is the case of the U.S.A. where war expenditure reaches the impressive figure of 70,000 million dollars. The cost of technical assistance does not reach one per cent of this figure. This clearly explains why the technical assistance programme meets with great difficulties, and why it cannot manage to rid the poverty-stricken peoples and areas of their squalour . . .

There are two paths open to us: the path of bread and the path of the atom bomb. We must make our choice quickly. The path of bread symbolises the path of social justice, by which everyone in the world will have bread to eat. It means inviting to the world's banqueting table the two-thirds of humanity who are at present excluded and who only from time to time receive a few crumbs from the table of the rich. Our world must really belong to us.

I think the time has long passed when poor people could act in accordance with the passage in the Scriptures: "Blessed are the poor for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." Now we must believe that the earthly kingdom, too, should belong to the poor, because the earth belongs to all men and not to a privileged few. And if we do not work hard everywhere to ensure that we move away from the path of the bomb, we will once more be cast out, we will not only lose the Kingdom of Heaven, but also the kingdom of earth.

Rev. H. J. L. Armstrong — *Ireland*

Patient endurance is the only safe policy today, coupled, of course, as it must be, with patient working towards the removal of injustices . . .

Keep on the side of Peace; and truth and justice will eventually prevail . . .

I believe:

1. That Peace must be sought in the context of religion.
2. That peaceful coexistence demands the acceptance of differing political systems, and that all these will be gradually modified as we near our goal of Peace.
3. That the answer to military threats must lie in better conditions of living, and
4. That we must face the challenge of the conscription of youth for the military machine.

Mr. Takashi Tanemura — *Japan*

The Japanese people were the first to experience the damage and evils of the A and H bombs. The fatal explosion of A bombs over the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were so deadly that over 200,000 civilians were killed instantaneously, and even now, nine years later, there are still many who are suffering and dying from radioactivity . . .

In Japan the scale of anti A and H bomb activity is literally nation-wide and unprecedented. The people of Japan are against any militaristic policy backed up by the A and H bombs. No Japanese has ever been found who has not expressed his opposition to the A and H bombs. Both Houses of Parliament, almost all prefectural councils and nearly 200 city councils have adopted resolutions for the prohibition of A and H bombs . . .

The National Council for the Prohibition of A and H Bombs held a memorial meeting for the first H bomb victim, Mr. Aikichi Kuboyama. On this occasion it was decided to call for a World Convention for the prohibition of A and H bombs to be held in Japan on 6th August of next year, this date being the tenth anniversary of the explosion of the first Atom bomb to be dropped on people — the people of Hiroshima . . .

Point Five of the Agenda

PREPARATION OF AN ASSEMBLY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FORCES OF PEACE IN ALL COUNTRIES

The proposal that a world Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace should be prepared was mentioned with warm approval in a number of reports and in most of the speeches.

It was also dealt with in a number of speeches specially devoted to this question, from which we publish a number of extracts. The problems connected with the preparation of the World Assembly were examined in the Organisation Commission and the conclusions reached were presented to the Council by Mr. Jean Laffitte in a speech from which we also give some extracts.

Mr. K. A. Abbas — *India*

Welcoming the idea of a World Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace the speaker said:

The Geneva Conference, the Indo-Chinese armistice, the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to India and the Indian Prime Minister's visit to China, the joint statements of the two Prime Ministers representing nearly one half of the world's population, and the subsequent adherence of Burma and Indonesia to the Five Principles of Peace — all these significant and happy events were envisaged in the proposals repeatedly made by us on the peace platform. We might even say that "what the Peace Movement says today, the world inevitably must say tomorrow".

As we begin to plan now for our next Congress, we cannot afford merely to look back with complacency and smug self-satisfaction, for our task is far from complete. It is true that the war which was imminent some years ago has been prevented, but the danger of war is not over...

I submit that as a movement we are now strong and mature enough to examine not only the immediate threats to peace but also the basic causes of world tension and war.

The prevention of war itself is but a negative though nevertheless important purpose. We should go forward to the positive purpose of consolidating the basis of peace itself. The doctrine of co-existence placed before the world by the wise statesmen of the U.S.S.R., and endorsed and further amplified by the Five Principles jointly propounded by the Prime Ministers of People's China and the Indian Republic provide an effective political basis for Peace...

But we also need to work out in our next Congress a concrete programme of building international unity through closer and more frequent cultural contacts and exchanges between the different peoples...

I submit that the next Congress keep this positive aspect of creating the climate of peace by cultural exchange in the forefront of its discussions and formulate a detailed and thorough plan of action in this respect.

Mr. Pierre Meunier — *France*

First of all, what is the reason for this Congress of world public opinion? Its justification is to be found in all the speeches that we have heard.

It has never been more clearly apparent that the world is at a turning-point in history and that it now depends on people's determination whether they ensure for themselves and their children a long period of peace rather than allowing themselves to be drawn towards a terrible tomorrow...

World public opinion must be given the chance to express itself with the boundless strength that unity gives. This is both the aim and the justification of the decision that you have taken to call the 1955 Congress.

I think that the best way to prepare for this Congress will be the struggle undertaken in each country to orientate government policy towards the relaxation of international tension, security and disarmament.

But to whom shall we address ourselves?

We shall address ourselves to the forces of peace without a single exception.

Because of our past activity, our experience and the confidence that many have in us, we claim to represent a great, peaceful force. But we do not claim to represent all the peaceful forces...

The speaker then gave a series of examples from which we take the following:

The German Social Democratic Party does not belong to our Movement, is has not even cooperated with us, but nevertheless it is helping the cause of peace when it goes on record against German rearmament and for a negotiated settlement of the German question...

In France, the people who want negotiation first — I mean those who consider it more urgent to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the German question and the questions of security and disarmament than to ratify German rearmament — are to be found in all circles and in all parties...

It must be said that a certain number of Frenchmen would resign themselves to accepting the rearmament of Germany in the end if they cannot see any alternative. But they hope that before this deplorable step is taken an effort at general negotiation will be made. I think they, too, have their place in the work and in the Assembly of the forces of peace because we offer them the possibility of remaining faithful to the interests of France, of contributing to the security of our country and all the countries of Europe, and also of avoiding having to reproach themselves one day for cowardly renunciation.

Our appeal must be addressed to all parties that make peace the keynote of their programme, to all spiritual forces which take their stand on the idea of peace. It must be addressed to all countries, since they are all threatened to more or less the same extent, and to all peoples, since they are all interested in consolidating or winning back their prosperity and in averting the fearful danger of an atomic war.

Mr. Jose Cueto — *Chile*

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

The peoples of Latin America are determined to win their independence and sovereignty so as to be able to discuss with all nations, in a dignified way and on a footing of equality, how to obtain peaceful coexistence.

In order that it shall be the peoples who discuss this problem of peace and decide on the form that the struggle to win it shall take, we support and welcome the suggestion to hold, in the first half of 1955, a great Assembly for peace at which all the peoples of the world will be represented.

Mr. Ivor Montagu — *Great Britain*

SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

This Congress must be our Congress — that is to say in the sense that we are responsible for calling it. It is needed now and we must take the initiative. But it must be not in the least our Congress in the sense of monopolising the conduct of it. Our appeal for it must go to *all*, not divided into "our movement and others", but to *all* supporters of peace, among whom ours of course strive always to be worthy of that glorious name. We have a unique and generous tradition. Right from Warsaw we said: every supporter of peace has a place in our world movement. At our meetings all are welcome, guests and members, all are free of the right of speech and vote if they choose to accept it. So it must be at this Congress, in discussion, in resolution, and in election of new vigorous representatives to the guidance of Council affairs...

Before us is the greatest campaign in the life of our movement against all these dangers, and, above all, to stop the rearmament of Germany and the splitting of Europe — to oppose ratification, implementation, arming and splitting with or without licence, before or after Treaties — in a word to *stop* it — to bring the nations together to agree to a peaceful solution *before it is too late.*

The campaign for our Congress can and must be an integral part, potentially one of the most powerful parts of this great policy campaign for Peace itself. From the British movement we want to bring here our experience. The significance of a Congress lies not in the meeting alone, perhaps not even primarily in the meeting. It lies in the work of preparation, in the work after it. A Congress is much more than half wasted if delegates are just nominated or listed, quietly, in a whisper, without anyone knowing anything about it. Delegates must be elected, supported, each backed by the sympathy and pennies of hundreds, even thousands of supporters. Nothing has so fired the imagination of ordinary men and women, in town or village, in factory, office, mine or farm, as the work for our past Congresses, the thought that they, the ordinary, for the first time in history can meet their like of other lands, discuss, exchange ideas, agree. They want to tell things, they want to learn. For the first time, through our movement, men can learn, and act, as one family. We want to be able, from now on, in the actual course of the great campaign for co-operation and security and against the splitting of the world that this Council will launch, to go to every group, every worker, every housewife and say: take part, you know what you want, choose your representatives and act; save the opportunity for world co-operation *now* by your action against the splitting of Europe; use at the Congress, in give and take discussion and agreement with others, the opportunity we win today.

Mrs. Mollie Fischer — *Union of South Africa*

Intimately bound up with this struggle for liberation is the struggle for a unified Peace movement... Racialism has always been a technique for dividing people and preparing for war. Thus in South Africa the fight against racialism is an integral part of the fight for peace...

We peace-loving South Africans warmly welcome the proposal to hold during the first part of next year an Assembly of the representatives of the peace forces of all countries. We are encouraged by the knowledge that in our struggle for a better South Africa we are not alone...

Mr. Jean Laffitte — *France*

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Report presented on behalf of the Organisation Commission

The work and decisions of this session of the World Council stress the gravity and seriousness of the situation confronting us. This is a crucial time for peace, a time when, no doubt, the possibilities open to us confirm our belief that we can win, but also a time when the dangers of the moment, if they are not dispersed, carry the threat of a dreadful future.

The forthcoming World Assembly of the forces of peace forms part of a perspective of growing, redoubled and multiplied efforts, which can and must lead to a new rallying of the forces which today cannot escape from the dilemma of peace or war, life or death...

It transpired clearly in the Commission that the launching and preparation of such an undertaking should be carried on side by side with the development of the Movement's activities, that is to say, in close relation to the activities of the World Council, but at the same time, and before all else, in close relation to the developing work of each National Peace Committee and each local Peace Committee...

It was agreed that the World Assembly should be open to all the forces of peace. That is to say, it should be open alike to the forces of the Movement and those which, without considering themselves a part of the Movement, nevertheless cooperate with it. To these must be added the forces which, though they have refused up to the present to cooperate with the Movement, nevertheless defend the ideas which emanated from it and for which it still stands.

For these reasons the Commission thought it best to retain the name used by the Bureau in the appeal convening the Assembly. In other words the assembly will be convened under the following name: "World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace."

Mr. Laffitte then presented the Organisation Commission's conclusions as regards the convening, preparation, date and place of the World Assembly. After giving a picture of the changes that had marked each stage in the development of the World Peace Movement, the speaker ended in the following terms:

Changes have taken place not only in the situation, but also in people's outlook. Simple ideas which emanated from our Movement have met with a response from public opinion which opens up limitless horizons for the development of our Movement's influence. Big organisations, even governments, have adopted positions along the lines of the peace aims which we have never ceased to defend. Who can deny that in such circumstances it is possible to go much further in the common interest of mankind?

Certainly, and this has come out strongly in our work, the danger persists, immediate and present threats can put everything back into the melting-pot again. But though the danger is grave and more urgent, we are also at a time when everything can be won.

We have on our side the assurance of calm and genuine strength. We have the assurance, as was stated at our first Congress in the Salle Pleyel, that Peace has now become the concern of the peoples. We have the assurance that public opinion can even more strongly influence the course of events, and the assurance which experience has confirmed, that our Movement can make a decisive contribution here.

For these reasons the World Assembly, too, will be a new stage in the development of our efforts.

This stage should mark great new victories for our Movement, and through them, should assist in rallying the forces working for peace on an even broader scale.

CLOSING SPEECH

Mr. Riccardo Lombardi — *Italy*

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT; SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Events have produced a new trend in international politics. We have passed from the phase of propaganda to the phase of effective action. It is like the change from youth to the calm reflectiveness of maturity...

Our movement's powerful contribution to bringing about this change in the international situation is, however, so evident that it would be in bad taste to boast of it. It has been marked by three events of decisive importance, each one of which required a gruelling and prolonged effort by the popular forces guided by our Movement: the armistice in Korea, the end of the war in Indo-China, the rejection of E.D.C....

It is important to see the correct and proper perspective for the work that has now to be done.

This correct perspective will be gained if we look at it from the point of view that these victories have all been contested by certain circles. In Korea they are bent on disrupting the armistice. In Indo-China they are continuing to introduce American intrigues in the South in order to prevent the exercise of the rights guaranteed by the Geneva Treaty during the long period of preparing for the elections, and to put everything into the melting-pot once again. Finally, in Europe, they are trying to counter the collapse of E.D.C. by the new London and Paris agreements in order to achieve the rearmament of a part of Germany, and its incorporation in the military bloc led by America, in spite of everything.

This work, persevering and perfidious, insolent and sordid, is being carried out on a scale and with a bitterness without precedent, especially in Europe, for it is in Europe that the crux of the problem of war or peace now lies. To win peace in Europe would mean having the maximum chance of winning it on a world scale...

To lose peace in Europe would without doubt mean that it could never be regained, whatever successes might be achieved on other continents.

It is for this reason that in calling the present session of the Council, our Bureau proposed — and the Council adopted — an agenda which gave priority to the European question, not, of course, in order of importance, but of urgency.

For it would be dangerous folly to underestimate the enormous importance of what is happening in Asia with the setting up of S.E.A.T.O., American interference in Pakistan, the intrigues in Korea and Indo-China, in Iran and Formosa; of what is happening in Latin America where operation "Guatemala", followed by operation "Brazil", threatens to be extended and repeated, thus stifling the great desire of the peoples for the economic and political independence of this inexhaustible reservoir of raw materials and poverty-stricken peoples. It would be stupid to forget that there can be no real peace without guaranteeing all the peoples of Africa freedom from oppression and colonial exploitation.

Now, the road to the solution of all these problems lies in Europe...

The European problem, is, before everything else — and I do not say above everything else — the problem of Germany, and this is to a large extent the problem of German unification. We must at all costs preserve the necessary conditions for an equitable solution; the fight against the ratification and implemen, tation of the London and Paris Agreements has no other meaning.

NEWLY ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

During the final sitting the Council elected the following new members:

Mr. Jose da Frota Moreira — *Brazil.* Member of Parliament, General Secretary of the Brazilian Labour Party

M. Alberto Cavalcanti — *Brazil.* Film director

The Right Rev. Bishop Cesar Dacorso — *Brazil.* Head of the Brazilian Methodist Church

Mr. Joris Ivens — *Netherlands.* Film director

Professor Purbodiningrat — *Indonesia.* Economist. Professor at the Gadjah Mada University

Mr. Siradjuddin Abbas — *Indonesia.* Member of Parliament. President of the Moslem Group

Mr. Nino Fogliaresi — *Italy.* Teacher. Journalist.

During an interval the Reverend J. S. Williams, General Secretary of the All India Federation of National Churches and Vice-Chairman of the Bombay Peace Committee, (right) talks to Mr. Le Dinh Tham, Chairman of the Viet-Nam National Buddhist Committee.

Messages Addressed to the Session

During the Stockholm session the World Council of Peace received many declarations and greetings from well-known people, organisations, associations, universities, factories, schools and others. These included hundreds of warm greetings from Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries; from nearly all the countries of Europe, especially Germany; and from Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

Some extracts from these messages follow.

Mr. Jakobo Arbenz

former President of Guatemala

"This session of the World Council of Peace is of great importance for my people and for myself in particular, and I should very much have liked to take part in it in person... From where I am at present I send to all and each of those participating in the session my warm greetings and my most fervent wishes for the greatest possible success of the World Council's humanitarian efforts in the cause of peace."

Mr. Tetsu Katayama

former Prime Minister of Japan

"I have the honour to pay sincere homage to all my friends fighting for peace on the occasion of this session of the World Council of Peace which has extremely important tasks to perform in the present international situation...

"On behalf of the Japanese people, who are determined to defend their peaceful constitution at any cost and categorically reject the remilitarisation of the country, I should like to ask all my friends taking part in this session of the World Council of Peace to demand that all countries should solemnly declare that they will never resort to arms or threats in order to settle international conflicts...

"I express my profound admiration and gratitude for your untiring efforts to preserve peace and assure you that I am determined to struggle with you to banish war for ever from the earth."

Mr. Clotario Blest Riffo

President of the Amalgamated Federation of Chilean Workers

"I beg you to assure the eminent participants in this session of the World Council of Peace that I shall continue to fight untiringly for the noble aims of the Council and that I direct all my efforts to creating a peaceful attitude and a will to peace in all my dear fellow-countrymen."

Mr. Josef Weber

General Secretary of the Union of Germans for Unity, Peace and Freedom

"Be assured that I have every sympathy for your efforts and that I shall follow all your deliberations with close attention. I am particularly pleased that your agenda gives prominence to the question of the cooperation of all European states in the interests of their security... We are certain that the proposals of the World Council of Peace... will help to prevent the unfortunate history of Europe and Germany during these last fifty years from repeating itself. The dearest wish of the people of the Federal Republic is to forestall and ward off the dangers of a unilateral armaments race so as to make progress along the road of peaceful agreement and eliminate the possibility of Europeans taking up arms against Europeans — even more of Germans taking up arms against Germans — yet again."

Mr. Jacques Savary

on behalf of the World Council for the Peoples' World Convention

"If peace organisations established direct contact with the World Council of Peace, as we have done, they would lose their many prejudices towards the World Council...

"We consider the task being accomplished by the World Council of Peace as very useful, even indispensable, and we wish the forthcoming session every success."

Mr. Felipe Iniguez Medrano

Rector of Oruro Technical University, Bolivia

"Please accept this message of support for the discussions which will start on the 18th and believe that I am a convinced supporter of that noble aim: peace between the peoples of the world."

*

Messages were also sent to the Council session by Mrs. Ceza Nabarawi and Mr. Ibrahim Rashad of Egypt, by the Colombian Students' Federation and others.

Mr. Paul Robeson

U. S. A.

Again may I thank you for your invitation to be with you this evening. Somehow it seems that not long ago it was my privilege. Those most recent visits have been treasured deeply in my mind and heart. The splendid achievements of the Peace Councils throughout the world, the magnificent contribution of the British Peace Committee in stirring opinion and winning broad forces of all sections of British life to support the cause of peace, to force cultural exchange and mutually advantageous trade relations, have encouraged and inspired us here in our own land.

History moves speedily in these days and one senses the beginning of a real change in many regions of American life...

The American people, disturbed and confused, but in the main wanting peace like any other folk, have started to move. Many progressive-minded citizens active in the days of Roosevelt and through '48 are coming back into the public arena, so look for better news from this side...

The will of the people, the will of the world's people — and of them we are a part — shall prevail, for sanity, for peace and friendship. Know that I am in the middle of the struggle — I love that word struggle — and there I shall remain as long as duty and responsibility call. Let us hope that soon it will be my good fortune to join in some of the conferences to bring greetings from the growing thousands here fighting with you to help ensure peace and new freedom of many still pressing forward to new horizons.

All my best to you and to the people of your lands. My heartfelt wishes to my brothers and sisters of Africa and of the Isles of the Carribbean. We shall together build a world where we shall live in peace and yet with love of all for their fellows. In the words of the great Chilean poet, Neruda: "Though I am not there, I here pound the table with love."

Recommendations on the cultural activities of the World Peace Movement

The recommendations printed below and those on organisation printed on page 28, were adopted by the Cultural and Organisation Commissions respectively

CULTURAL RELATIONS constitute one of the most vital factors in the progress of human civilisation: they enable the nations to exchange of their best and mutually to enrich their national cultures.

The development of these relations needs a favourable atmosphere, an atmosphere of Peace. At the same time these exchanges influence the international situation and make easier better mutual understanding and the establishment of peaceful coexistence between all countries whatever their social system.

Intellectuals are particularly interested in the strengthening of cultural relations, for the exchange of the experience, knowledge and discoveries which they have in their respective fields is a fundamental necessity for their work. They have also a special responsibility to devote their talents to the service of the peoples in their struggle for Peace and security.

Many writers, artists, scientists and religious figures have already raised their voices strongly in recent years against war hysteria, racial hatred and incitement to war and have declared for peaceful cooperation. But the peoples, who see the intellectuals as among their best informed representatives, expect a still greater and more active contribution from them, wanting other circles to come in and strengthen the joint activities for a close cultural cooperation.

The World Peace Movement has the task of inspiring and supporting these efforts by the intellectuals and the ordinary people. It has already played an important part in the activities which have made the recent extension of cultural relations possible. Ever since it was founded the World Peace Movement has put forward clear and practical proposals to combat war propaganda, to defend and foster national cultures and to extend cultural relations.

In the struggle for the lessening of international tension and the end of the cold war, for real negotiations instead of the use of force, as the basis of mutual security, the peoples have considered it essential to destroy the barriers artificially erected between them. In recent years significant successes have been gained in this struggle.

The World Peace Movement welcomes the increased cultural cooperation between peoples living in different social and political systems, which has taken the form of, for example, tours abroad by large theatrical companies, by major orchestras and troupes of dancers; growing exchanges of teams of sportsmen, of films, of books in translation, of exhibitions of works of art and of children's art; the increased representation of the different countries at international scientific and professional conferences; the holding of specialists' meetings in the different fields of culture to study their special problems in connection with the question of Peace.

In many countries, the Peace Movement has helped and encouraged actions for the defence or the development of national culture against attempts to adulterate it by introducing alien brands of culture such as those films, strip cartoons and various publications, which seek to justify violence, war and racial hatred. Certain of these actions are developing into a real expression of national opinion and are having positive results. At the same time there has been increased interest in the development of different forms of culture such as popular and folk art.

In spite of all these positive developments, however, there are still great obstacles in the way of true cultural cooperation. Many efforts are being made to limit exchanges to one group of countries or to thwart them, for example by using them to support racial domination or to put across propaganda for hatred and war to the peoples, or to falsify history and permeate textbooks and schools with poisonous ideas.

At the same time in a number of countries the Peace Movement has not understood clearly enough that all these questions form an integral part of the struggle for Peace. There has been a tendency in some countries to regard them as being the concern of specialists and merely to leave such questions to persons and organisations outside the ambit of the Peace Movement.

The whole work of the Peace Movement is a struggle for good relations and mutual understanding between the nations, for the defence and development of civilisation. This struggle can only be successful if the Movement in every country concerns itself with these vital interests of the people.

In the interests of the rapid development of cultural relations the World Council of Peace recommends to the National Peace Movement:

— to promote action on the widest possible scale and among all sections of the people against every bar to increased exchanges, such as refusals to grant visas, to allow international conferences and meetings to be held, to permit the distribution of cultural publications, etc.

— to promote and develop further widespread action against propaganda for violence, war and racial hatred, open or concealed, direct or indirect, carried on by newspapers, books, broadcasts, films, comics and other means of expression.

— to develop the widest possible activity against inhuman and invidious uses of science and the use of scientific research to ends almost wholly destructive.

— to promote and to support every form of cultural exchange which serves the cause of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

— to support all moves for the defence and the development of national culture and for improved contact and exchange in the fields of popular art, folk-art and sport.

— to support in every way the holding of gatherings and meetings of writers, film workers, musicians, painters, teachers and scientists to discuss their particular problems in relation to the cause of Peace.

— to promote and support actions among all sections of the people, and specially among teachers, to defend the education of children against the effects of war policies, against the introduction into the schools of unhealthy ideas and feelings, ideas rooted in brutality, force and racial hatred and to foster a spirit of understanding and friendship for other peoples.

Experience has shown that an important contribution to the aims given above has been made by two special activities proposed by the World Council of Peace: the celebration of great cultural anniversaries and the International Peace Prizes.

During the past three years the celebration of the great anniversaries proposed by the Council has helped the peoples to strengthen their respect for the cultural achievements of other nations and to draw together in defence of their common heritage. These celebrations have taken place on a wide scale and in all circles.

The World Council of Peace stresses the great importance of these celebrations. They make possible very varied activities both among writers, artists, scientists and professional people and among the population in general. The Council recommends to the National Movements to promote the celebration of the great anniversaries in a spirit of international brotherhood on a greater scale and the most varied ways, in particular encouraging academic, scientific, professional and popular organisations to take part.

The International Peace Prizes founded by the World Council have enabled the peoples to honour writers, artists and men of science for works of great human value which serve the cause of Peace.

The World Council recommends the National Movements to make the International Peace Prizes known to the people, to organise ceremonies of tribute to the prizewinners and their works, and to explain the importance and the meaning of these Prizes, which constitute a living link between the peoples and those who are the trusted voices of their desire for Peace.

The peoples have expressed more and more clearly their wish to know one another, to exchange all that is most valued in their culture and to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding which will be favourable to peaceful cooperation. The World Council of Peace calls once more on all friends of Peace to exert their efforts to achieve this aim. The perspectives are immense. Let us then work unstintingly to make them reality.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Recommendations on Problems of Organisation of the World Peace Movement

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE draws attention to the essential contribution which the Movement made to the people's recent victories for Peace.

The ideas and campaigns of the World Peace Movement have had far-reaching effects. They are the chief source of the immense current of opinion which has developed throughout the world to demand the peaceful solution of international disputes. The increasing support of new forces is bringing about a marked growth in the influence and authority of the Movement.

The importance of the results obtained and the number of tasks with which the international situation presents us, face the whole Movement with the duty of ceaselessly improving its activities and methods of work.

In many countries national movements have demonstrated their ability to initiate actions bringing in all sections of the population and building the widest possible unity of the Peace forces. In this way they have acquired an authority and influence which, because they correspond to a national desire for Peace, are reflected in the attitude and statements of important political and popular forces and personalities representing wide sections of public opinion in their country.

This general strengthening of the Movement must not distract attention from certain organisational problems which still exist.

— The Movement has not always developed its organisation in proportion to the influence which its ideas and activities have acquired.

— In some countries, the action undertaken on the international level has not been adapted to the particular situation of the country concerned, and this has led to the formulation of abstract objectives and to reduced activity.

— In other cases the Movement, with the idea of broadening the Peace front, is abandoning its own programme of action, or is thinking only in terms of seeking the support of well-known people or organisations, to the detriment of the necessary work among ordinary people.

— Certain National Committees, by their principles of organisation, their methods of work and the formulation of their arguments, tend to ally themselves with political organisations and put out slogans too narrow to gain the attention of all sections of the population, irrespective of social origin or political or philosophical convictions.

The solution of these organisational problems must be sought for in the application of the decisions adopted by the World Council in the course of its meetings and Congresses, and in respect for the principles which the Movement has formulated for itself in the course of five years experience.

The Peace Movement is one which is able to achieve or assist the widest unity of the forces of Peace. It constantly strives to bring together, without distinction or limitation, nationally and internationally, all those who accept the principle of peaceful coexistence and the settlement of international disputes by negotiation. Through free discussion it arrives at aims and forms of activity acceptable to all.

The Peace Movement does not pretend to have the monopoly of the struggle for Peace. It asks all individuals and organisations representing forces of Peace to cooperate with it for the success of the actions which it advocates. The breadth of its aims, and its ability to promote activities which find a response in every country, make it a pole of attraction for those who wish to help in the preservation of Peace. The existence and the growth of the Peace Movement are thus essential conditions for the development of the activity and unity of the forces of Peace. But the Peace Movement also declares its readiness to support all actions, from whatever source, which bring together efforts made in the direction of international relaxation.

The Peace Movement is characterised by action. In every country its existence and its strength depend on constantly renewed activities, associating all people of goodwill in the achievement of precise and practical objectives based both on the requirements of the international situation and on national interests.

For the development of its activities, the movement depends on the existence of Peace Committees organised both in places where people live and where they work. These Committees, with their constant appeal to all sections of public opinion, are the guarantee of the widest unity and the greatest effectiveness of the actions undertaken.

The World Council proposes that each National Committee should be guided by the following recommendations:

— On all occasions to make clear the Movement's attitude to national and international events which have a bearing on the relaxation of international tension, either in the name of the National Committee or by means of statements made by its most prominent individuals.

By this means it is possible to bring out the independent character of the Movement. In this connection, the systematic condemnation of every action raising an obstacle in the way of relaxation of international tension, such for example as a call to open hostilities against a particular country, refusal to negotiate or acts of discrimination detrimental to the development of economic and cultural relations with all countries, should be its constant concern.

— To use the rich experience of joint actions, which have been carried through in cooperation with various well-known people and organisations, in order to strengthen and extend this cooperation, not simply with particular individuals or representatives of organisations, but also with the sections of people they represent. This aim can be achieved by initiating or supporting moves which can be jointly developed on the national and international levels.

— To safeguard the wide and democratic nature of the Movement: creation and reconstruction of Committees representative of ever-widening sections of opinion; joint formulation of objectives and forms of action; responsibility of all Committee members for the working out and implementation of decisions; election of Committees to organise Assemblies or Congresses.

— To seek the best way of developing permanent activity by the regional and local Peace Committees, bearing in mind the links between the different activities: collection of signatures, petitions or referendums leading to a campaign of deputations to all elected persons; local meetings and factory meetings preparing for larger meetings; local and regional rallies leading to a National Conference, days, weeks, and months of action etc...

Experience has shown the constant need for each Committee to find the method of work which best corresponds to the opportunities of joint action existing in each country, to seek and set out the arguments and facts which give a more practical form to the objectives of the struggle for Peace laid down by the World Council, linking them directly with the interests of the population.

— To consider as a permanent task of each Committee to find methods based on political activities for raising the funds needed for their development, the nature of the Movement making it impossible to lay down a membership fee for those taking part in the struggle for Peace.

— To maintain closer contact with the Secretariat of the World Council and with the other National Movements in order to bring about greater cooperation and better coordination of activities on a world scale. These contacts can be made by means of the delegates to the Council, by means of the Secretariat's information material, by visits and exchanges of delegations, and by exchanges of publications, films and documents. The Secretariat of the Council, as a permanent body, can assist this necessary cooperation.

On this basis, the strengthening of the organisation of the Movement and the solution of organisational problems which may arise, are the conditions for a better development of activities and a useful contribution to the widest mustering of the forces of Peace.

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